

STUDENTS
EXAM



James G. Maine
11

THE STANDARD BEARERS.—OFFICIAL EDITION.

— THE —

AUTHORIZED PICTORIAL LIVES

OF

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

AND

JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN,

INCLUDING

THEIR BOYHOOD AND EARLY STRUGGLES, SUCCESSIVE TRIUMPHS AND SPLENDID ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE
NATION'S COUNCIL HALLS AND AMID THE SMOKE AND CARNAGE OF BATTLE, GRAND QUALITIES AS
CIVIC AND MARTIAL LEADERS, AND EMINENT PUBLIC SERVICES AS STATESMEN, DIPLOMATS, ETC.

WITH

HUNDREDS OF AUTHENTIC PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ANECDOTES AND REMINISCENCES, COLLECTED AT THEIR
BOYHOOD AND PRESENT HOMES, AND MANY OF THEM NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

ALSO EMBRACING

A GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT CONVENTION OF 1884, A SYNOPSIS OF ALL PREVIOUS NATIONAL CONVEN-
TIONS, THE FAMOUS NOMINATING SPEECHES OF 1876 AND 1880, WITH OTHER POLITICAL
INFORMATION INVALUABLE TO EVERY VOTER.

BY

J. W. BUEL,

Author of "Russian Nihilism and Exile Life in Siberia," "Legends of the Ozark,"
"Heroes of the Plains," etc., etc.

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F A M E .

The sovereignty of American citizenship, enjoyed by the freemen of our heaven-kissed Republic, is a privilege of almost divine emanation; it is the inspiration that nestles in the babe, and expands the heart of manhood; it nourishes youth and blossoms, with delicious exhalation, in all our institutions, spanning, with rainbow radiance, this favored land, and shedding the brightest beams of happiness over all our country. Under so benign and fructifying an influence, who can measure the aspirations which it incites? Who can estimate the destiny of the humblest born, the least advantaged sovereign in our sisterhood of commonwealths?

The life histories of America's Presidents, the civil rulers and lance-bearers of this new but most stalwart hero among the empires of the world, are fruitful with all that is courageous, gracious and wholesome in example. From the formation of the first colonial government, through vicissitudes of great trial and changes, rendered necessary by rapid growth, to this latest period of our prosperity, have risen, year after year, magnificent champions of our institutions and, by an exhibition of wise statesmanship, have allowed no impairment of benefits guaranteed by our original *magna charta*.

In countries governed by hereditary rulers, law is the science of oppressing many for the benefit of a few; it is the

charter privilege of luxuriating off the products of handicapped industry, the tribute laid by lordlings on helpless slaves. In America that fundamental edict declaring that all men shall be equal before the law, is axiomatic, because among us it is universal, and serves as a demonstration of individual sovereignty.

In this country, where the lurking poison of hereditary succession has not obtained, brain is the measure of fitness, and exaltation comes only through the avenues of intelligence to crown the brow of competence. Fame mantles her eyes with the veil of justice, lest favoritism should woo her from noble purposes, and she has, therefore, made courage, ability, honesty, and love of country the standard by which her heroes are judged and rewarded. The little boy born in a manger, nourished in poverty, denied the advantages of a country school, with labor in hand and ignorance for companionship, may yet draw conceptions of knowledge from the inherent genius implanted by universal citizenship; fame smiles not at his humble birth, but beckoning him on, leads through bright fields laden with the honey of aspiration, on, on to that proud pinnacle from which shines the beacon of lofty attainment.

He who fails to read the biographies of America's great political leaders, fails not only in a duty of paramount importance, but denies himself a privilege which cannot be computed for its great value. The spark of success oft flashes up into a flame of renown, when brought in contact with the illustrious, so strongly is man's destiny moulded.

Fame rests upon a basis of improved circumstances. No better illustration of this can the world give of any accepted truth than is afforded by the life of nearly every President who has presided over our nation. Their biographies, therefore, become our exemplars, and the incentives of national pride which guarantee the perpetuity of our government; they are no less a text-book than is the Constitution, and every sovereign citizen is a student who should aspire to a fundamental knowledge of the principles of our great bill of rights, under which all may achieve honorable station and distinguished position.

J. W. B.

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JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER I.

Times are materially changing, producing, in fact, startling results daily bursting into view, but there is nothing effete seen in any of these mutations; civilization hardly looks backward, but progresses steadily, with mighty tread and tireless energy, scattering on every side the blessings of a government as nearly perfect as mankind can devise, enlarging in its several spheres in consonance with our increase of resource and population. Great men have been among the products of our Republican cultivation, great in all the attributes of manhood and statesmanship. Occasionally there have been lapses, or interregnums, of intellectual administrations, and then again, appearances of geniuses who have burnished anew the ægis of American liberty and given the world assurance of our manifest destiny. It is not mine to recount the abilities of our Presidents, whose names and deeds are conspicuous on the pages of the world's history, but it is mine to predict that the name of James G. Blaine shall add its unsullied lustre to the brightest galaxy of American heroes, as citizen, senator, statesman and President; the great master mind, comprehensive in its directing power, forceful character, intellectual strength and appreciation of public needs and duties; the wise counsellor, and above all the true American who, knowing the right, dares to maintain it.

James Gillespie Blaine, "the man from Maine," as he has been called, because of his great leadership, is a native of Pennsylvania, having been born at the Indian Hill Farm, Washington county, January 31, 1830. The ancient stone house in which his birth occurred is still standing, like a hoary sentinel of time, grim and severe with the corrosive marks of great age. It was built by Mr. Blaine's great-grandfather, Neal Gillespie, in 1778, and was, at the date of its construction, on the very confines of civilization—on the extreme western borders. Indeed, it is affirmed by old traditions that this was the first house ever built on the western side of the Monongahela river.

A sketch of Brownsville, published by the editor of the "Three Towns," a weekly paper of that place, last year, gives considerable information concerning the Gillespies and Blaines, who were the original settlers of the place. From this sketch I take the liberty of extracting the following:

"In 1774 Neal Gillespie, a native of Ireland, bought of the widow and son of 'Indian Peter,' a friendly Indian who was the first owner, the 'Indian Hill' tract of land on which the town of West Brownsville, or at least the upper part of it, now stands. There are three reports as to the price paid for this tract. One states that the consideration was fifty pounds sterling, one horse and a rifle; another report declares that the consideration was a quantity of old iron and a negro, and yet another that the equivalent of eleven dollars of our present money was paid per acre. The following is an extract from Book B, vol. 1, page 406, County records:

March ye 3, 1784.

"Memorandum of a Bargain mead Between Marey Petters and William, oldest son, and Neal Gillespey. The agreement is thos, that we the above do bargain and seal to sead Neal Geallespie the Tract of land which we now poses and all the tenements and boundories of said Land, at forty-five



HOME OF COL. EPHRAIM BLAINE, CARLISLE, PA.

TO VIM
ALBROTHAO

Shillings pr. Acker, the tearm of Peaments the 15th of next October fower hundred Pounds to be Paid in money or mon-
eys worth for this Peament two tons of iron at teen pence
Pr. pound and one Negro at Preasment of two men, one
hundred pound more to be pead at the same time of this
Preasement or Else to Draw In trust for one Year, the Re-
mainder of the Purches money to be Pead in two Peaments
—First in the [year] 1786, the Next the year 1788, Each of
these Peaments to be mead in October 15th the above Bound
Marey Petters and William Petters asserts to meak the said
Neal Gillespie a proper right for said land for which we have
seat our hands and Seals.

(Signed)

“JOHN MA CORTNEY.

her

“MAREY XII PETTERS,
mark.

“JOHN NIXON.

his

“WILLIAM XIX PETTERS.
mark.

“Acknowledged before THOMAS CROOKES, Feb. 25, 1786.

“Whatever the terms were, Gillespie obtained possession.
From him it descended to his son, Neal Gillespie, Jr., and
from him it passed largely into the hands of the Blaine family,
and from them to its many present owners. The family has
now entirely disappeared.

“Ephriam Blaine was an officer in the Revolutionary War
and afterwards sheriff of Cumberland County, Pa. His son
James came to Brownsville in 1804 and engaged in mer-
chandising. He was also a Justice of the Peace for several
years. He moved to Sewickley from Brownsville, and from
Sewickley to the vicinity of Washington, Pa., where he died.
He left seven children, of whom only two are now living.
Ephraim Lyon Blaine, the one of these in whom we are most
interested, was born Feb. 28, 1796. He was graduated at
Washington College and married Maria, daughter of Neal
Gillespie, Jr. He thus became proprietor of a large part of
the Indian Hill tract, purchased by his father-in-law from
the widow and son of ‘Indian Peter.’ He built several

houses in West Brownsville, and lived in at least two of them, which has given rise to a difference of opinion as to the birth-place of his now distinguished son, the Hon. James G. Blaine. Some say that he was born in the stone house now familiarly known as the 'Blaine House,' in 1830, while others claim that he was born in the large brick building, formerly used as a hotel, in 1828. This latter building is the largest in West Brownsville, and is now occupied as a tenement by a half-dozen families. In 1831, Mr. Blaine laid out the original town of West Brownsville. In 1842, he was elected Prothonotary of Washington County. He died June 28, 1850, and his remains lie in the Catholic cemetery in Brownsville. James G. Blaine was never a resident of West Brownsville, after his childhood days. He was graduated at Washington College, and not long thereafter removed to the State of Maine."

HIS ANCESTORS.

Indian Hill Farm is what is now the town of West Brownsville, Washington county. Mr. Blaine is therefore a Maine man by adoption. On this farm his great-grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, had settled before the breaking out of the Revolutionary war. His ancestors were of noted Scotch-Irish stock and were among the pioneer settlers more than a century and a half ago in the great limestone valley of the Keystone State. They were among those who founded the village of Carlisle, and stood in high repute. The old stone Presbyterian church, whose hallowed walls over a century ago were first dedicated to religious worship, still stands, a spared and reserved monument to the ravages of time. Not only did the colonial ancestors of Mr. Blaine attend service in this sacred edifice—to whose creation none contributed more liberally than they—but also their descendants down to the fifth generation, of which the subject of this biography



OLD ST. PETERS CATHOLIC CHURCH, WEST BROWNSVILLE, PA.,
WHERE THE BLAINE FAMILY WORSHIPPED.

(Photographed and engraved expressly for this work.)



is one—have been constant worshipers within its venerable walls.

Near by this church is the old-fashioned house where Col. Ephraim Blaine, the paternal great-grandfather of Mr. Blaine, lived, and the building is standing on the same spot, an object of interest to visitors. Col. Ephraim Blaine was a native of Scotland, having fought with Prince Charlie at Culloden in the war of 1745. He was an officer in the Revolutionary war, belonging to the Pennsylvania line, and died at Carlisle, Penn., in 1808. His services were gallant and patriotic.

Living on his princely estate of "Middlesex," in the county of Cumberland, at the time the Revolution was inaugurated, he at once offered his personal services and his large means to the patriot cause. He was forthwith commissioned by the Continental Congress as a Colonel, and was attached to the Pennsylvania line of troops, and did not "ground arms" until the contest was over, and the victory won. It happened from the outset of his service, that he was thrown much in contact with General Washington, and the result was a warm friendship between the two, which manifested itself in a cordial correspondence through a period of more than fifteen years—many of Washington's letters being still in the possession of Colonel Blaine's descendants.

Owing to his own marked and meritorious services both in "camp and field," and aided perhaps by the personal friendship of Washington, Col. Blaine was promoted to the very important post of "Commissary General of the Northern Department" in the year 1778, about the time that the distinguished Gen. Wadsworth was appointed to a similar rank in the Southern Department. In this enlarged and

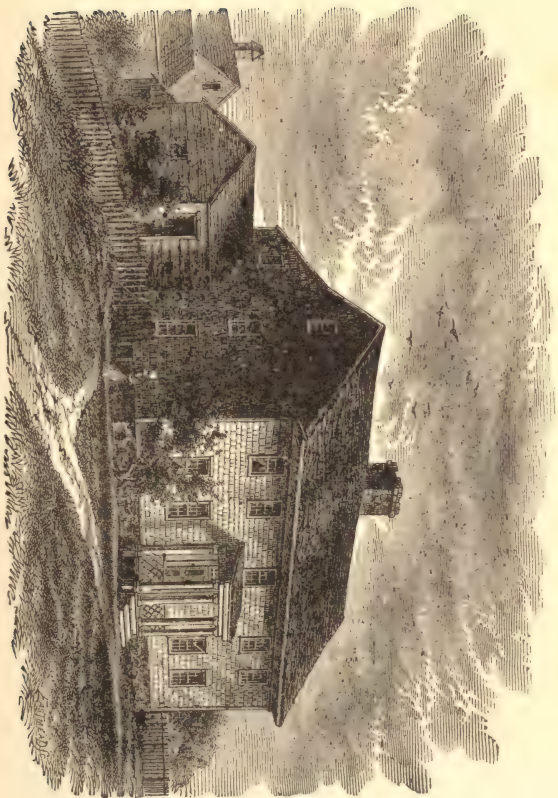
most responsible sphere of duty Col. Blaine won imperishable laurels. The district over which he was thus made "General of Commissariat" extended from the Maryland line northward, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England, and it was to his great energy and oftentimes to the means which he had at his individual and personal influence to command, that the "Patriot Army" was kept from want and starvation. The large quantities of army supplies which Col. Blaine negotiated for may be inferred from the fact that at one time (Jan., 1780) the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania drew a single warrant in his favor for one million of dollars to reimburse him for advances which his own exertions and his own means had provided; and at another time a warrant for seven hundred and fifty thousand was credited to him by the same authority in payment of similar obligations. During the "dark winter" at Valley Forge, the most critical and trying period perhaps in the whole seven years' struggle, the American army was left at one time almost entirely dependent on Col. Blaine's efforts, and the faithful and heroic manner in which he discharged his duties at that period was always spoken of in terms of highest praise by Washington.

Col. Blaine was with Washington in several of the most critical epochs in the long struggle for our liberties, and was among the most "tried, true, and trusted," to the last. At the close of the Revolution he retired to his estates at "Middlesex," which had become greatly impaired by his long absence, though they were still magnificent in their extent and resources. Here he resided for more than a quarter of a century after the war, in true manorial dignity and hospitality; entertaining his numerous visitors in a style of liberality suited to his social rank and public position, and

admirably illustrating the character of the Pennsylvania gentleman of the "olden time." It was at his house that President Washington and suite were entertained when they journeyed to the interior of the State on that eventful expedition, called out by the Whiskey Insurrection of the Western counties in 1794. During Washington's presidency, Col. Blaine spent many of his winters in Philadelphia, forming one member of that "Republican Court" which surrounded and gave eclat and dignity to the social rule of our first and greatest Chief Magistrate. Col. Blaine's son, James Blaine, went abroad in 1791 as an attache to one of the American embassies, and was made, a few years after, the bearer to this country of the celebrated "Jay Treaty," which was the cause of such an angry Congressional controversy immediately after its reception, and which resulted in the personal estrangement from Washington of some who had previously been reckoned as among his most devoted political friends. James Blaine, at the time of his return from Europe, was considered to be the most accomplished and finest looking gentleman in Philadelphia—then the center of fashion, elegance, and learning on this Continent. His reputation as a model gentleman was honorably sustained through life. He died in Washington county, Pennsylvania, whither he removed after the death of his father. It may be mentioned here that Col. Blaine was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the "Cincinnati."

The domestic and family history of Col. Blaine were quite as remarkable and interesting as his public career was honorable and patriotic. Shortly after the war was over he lost his first wife, who was a Miss Galbraith, of a well-known Scotch family. He passed some five years as a

widower, and his second marriage was somewhat singular and romantic, to say the least. In the town of Carlisle, near which his estate of "Middlesex" lay, one Judge Duncan was among the most prominent citizens—a man of social rank, and high spirit, and some years the junior of Col. Blaine. A personal difficulty happened between Judge Duncan and a lawyer of the Cumberland County Bar, named Lamberton, and the result was that a challenge passed, and was accepted. The second of Judge Duncan was James Blaine, the son of Col. Blaine, already alluded to. The issue of the duel was the instant death of Judge Duncan, who was shot with a rifle ball directly in the forehead. And now for the singular sequel. A few years elapsed, and Col. Blaine married Judge Duncan's widow—the widow of the man for whom his son had acted as second in the duel which proved fatal to him. This lady survived Col. Blaine a long number of years, and after his death resided in Philadelphia. Her residence was one of the elegant mansions on Walnut street, west of Twelfth, and here she lived in a style of true elegance and social distinction until she attained the ripe age of ninety. She died in 1850, and was buried in a family lot at Laurel Hill. The descendants and collateral connections of Colonel Blaine in Pennsylvania, and in many other parts of the Union, are quite numerous. In Pennsylvania the family is intimately interwoven with the Lyons, the Russels, the Ewings, the Alexanders, the Andersons, the Reeds, the Walkers, the Gillespies, and numerous other branches of the old Pennsylvania stock. The son of Col. Blaine's second wife, Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Natchez, Miss., was widely known as one of the wealthiest planters of the South, his estate being reckoned by millions, while he was otherwise known as the most high-minded, philanthropic,



BIRTH-PLACE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

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and Christian of men. Robert J. Walker, once Governor of Kansas, and so distinguished as a Democratic statesman belonged to the same stock, being a nephew, we believe, of Col. Blaine's wife. Hon. A. L. Russell, at one time Secretary of the State, were grand-nephews of Col. Blaine. Hon. John H. Ewing, former Representative in Congress from the Washington district, married a grand-daughter of Col. Blaine; and Robert C. Walker, Esq., well known in Pennsylvania, and at one time connected with the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, was connected by a similar tie. A branch of the family is to be found in South Carolina, intermarried with the Wheatons of that State; another branch settled in New Jersey; another in Missouri; another in Iowa; and another in Arkansas. The male members of the blood, bearing the family names, are scarce. At one time, since the death of Col. Blaine, he had five namesakes among his relatives, but not one of them now survives. The name itself, therefore, belongs to comparatively few, while the blood flows in the veins of a very large number.

Mr. Blaine's maternal grandfather, Neal Gillespie, in whose honor Mr. Blaine received the name Gillespie, was a large landed proprietor in the Monongahela valley, where he had settled and lived a life of ease.

Mr. Blaine's father, Ephraim Lyon Blaine, as the grandson of the Revolutionary hero, was, in his time, one of the largest landed proprietors in Western Pennsylvania. Had his estate been preserved it would now be worth many millions of dollars. His father was born in Carlisle, and after extended foreign travels settled there where Ephraim was born and reared. He was known in the community as Squire Blaine and was married to Miss Maria Gillespie, by whom he had seven children, five boys and two girls.

Their names were Ephriam, James Gillespie, Neal, Rob and John, and Mary and Eliza. Ephriam is dead and so Mary.

In 1842 Mr. Blaine's father, having been defeated party caucus for nomination to Congress, was elected by the Whig party prothonotary of the court, an office then of much greater importance than now. He was a man much respected and liked for his generosity and hospitality. He also invested largely in Pennsylvania lands, but these proved generally unremunerative and seriously impaired his finances.

CHAPTER II.

The boyhood of James G. Blaine was not specially different from that of other boys; he had his romances and disappointments, and participated in adventures which usually happen to spirited youths. Precociousness and mischief were prominent traits in his character, and many stories are still related of him by the old citizens of Brownsville and vicinity. He was passionately fond of hunting, but the solicitude of his mother prevented him from using fire-arms, so that he was limited to dogs and a small axe for means to capture game. Coons and rabbits were therefore the object of his pursuit, and these he followed dilligently, both by day and night.

It is told by the village gossips that on one occasion, in company with his "chum," a boy of equal age, he went far into the forest with his trusty dogs, on a coon hunt; it was late in the evening when the two started and it had become very much later before the resounding notes of his dogs, baying in the distance, gave evidence that they had "treed" some kind of game. Reaching the spot the boys found their dogs leaping and barking up a large tree, and after a searching look through the branches they saw a large coon hovering close to a fork, nearly forty feet from the earth. It would have been foolish to attempt to fell the tree with the small axe which they carried, so young Blaine quickly made up his mind to climb for the game. By dint of great perseverance he managed to reach very near the lower branch, which was full twenty feet from the ground, when attempting to rest his weight upon a short, dead sprout, the treacherous support gave way and he fell with much violence to

the earth. The fall rendered him unconscious for several minutes, and upon recovering his mind he found his right hip so badly injured that walking was impossible. It was now long after darkness had set in, but the two boys had built a fire to aid them in locating the coon, so that this wise precaution served them greatly in the extremity which had now befallen.

Young Blaine's companion was fickle hearted, and while not sanctioning the idea of remaining out all night was loath to proceed alone to town for aid. Something, however, must be done, and necessity demanded that the other boy should return to Brownsville and notify young Blaine's parents of the accident. With many misgivings he at length set out for town, but fear and darkness caused him to lose his way, so that it was after midnight before he communicated the news to Mrs. Blaine. With a mother's anxiety she alarmed the household and could scarcely be restrained from rushing off alone to find and succor her son whom she believed must either be dead, or very dangerously injured. A team was hastily prepared and several persons, who had been notified, set out to find the sufferer, which was by no means an easy matter to do. It was nearly daylight before young Blaine was found, as the dogs had led him and gone home. When Mrs. Blaine saw him he was sound asleep by the foot of the tree from which he had fallen, and with a scream she sprang towards him feeling sure that her first dread must be realized, but he was quickly aroused and borne home, where he recovered after a few days' treatment with liniments and plasters, but his hunting adventures thereafter were very few.

A correspondent who visited Brownsville since Mr. Blaine's nomination, and who interviewed several of the o-



INCIDENT IN THE BOYHOOD OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

To VIII
Alfred 1894

settlers in and about the place, has written the following reminiscences:

“ ‘I stood to-day where Mr. Blaine’s candidacy was not a subject of current comment, beside two old graves in this village that are in the shadow of the little Catholic Church, that quickly recalled to me Longfellow’s beautiful lines on old St. David’s Church at Radner. The marble that marked them was much newer than the mounds, and the surroundings impressed me with the thought that a dutiful and reverent son had, years after, when means and opportunity came, that were wanting when death called father and mother, placed a fitting monument to mark the spot where they slept. It is a plain, unpretentious stone that marks these graves, and it was the names only that attracted my attention. They were those of Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie Blaine.

“ ‘Who were these two people in life?’ I asked of an old gentleman who had wandered along with me to this quiet city of the dead.

“ ‘Why, they were the father and mother of James G. Blaine. I knew them both well. Eph. Blaine and I went to school together. He was one of the founders of this town, and was Squire here for many a year. He was elected Prothonotary of the county in 1842, and moved to Washington, the county seat. He married Maria, a daughter of old Neal Gillespie, the smartest man in this whole section, and from his people James Gillespie Blaine derives his middle name. The Gillespies were among the most prominent families in the State. The seal of nature’s nobility was stamped upon them, one and all. The men were brave and stalwart; as strong in character, too, as they were stout of limb. The women were very handsome, and carried themselves as proudly as though the blood of a hundred earls was coursing through their veins. The beauty of old Mrs. Blaine, James’ mother, passed into a proverb. Even in her decrepit age she preserved much of her early attractiveness, and her eye was like a hawk’s, as clear and piercing then as

in the days of her budding womanhood. This was a peculiarity of her family, and she transmitted it to all her children. The Gillespies were ardent, intense Catholics, and made their religion the leading feature of their lives. Nea Gillespie owned a good deal of land about here, and Eph. Blaine built the brick house you see yonder, or a portion of it, after his marriage with Miss Gillespie. Their first child, James, was born in 1830. I remember him very well when he was a lad and used to paddle about on the river and make mud pies along its banks. He was a bright lad.

“I remember one little story about him, which I often heard in those days, and which is interesting as showing how truly in his case the child was father to the man. When he was but a little toddler, so to speak, some laborers were engaged digging a well on his father’s premises. The future statesman was caught one morning peering down in the excavation, and one of the men, with the idea of frightening him and thus preventing him from again putting himself in danger, thrust his shovel toward him and made all sorts of ugly faces. Jim ran away, but only to nurse his anger and await an opportunity for revenge. Venturing to the well a day or two after he had been driven away, he found the men working away at the bottom. Improving the opportunity, he seized a clod of earth and hurled it with all his little might full at the head of his unsuspecting enemy, with the consolatory remark: “‘There, take that.’” Clod followed clod in fast succession, with accompanying expletives, until the men were fairly beside themselves with rage, and with the fear that the desperate child might take it into his head to use some of the stones lying about him as messengers of wrath more effective than mere lumps of earth. Their shouts, however, brought his mother to the scene, and the little avenger was unceremoniously hustled off to the house. That was the old blood asserting itself. A Gillespie or a Blaine never turned his back upon a friend or foe.

“That’s the new packet, James G. Blaine, that runs from here to Pittsburg. The two people who sleep in this graveyard little thought when they died that they’d have a son

TIME, 8TL.

BLAINE

EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE
BORN FEB 28 1796
DIED JUNE 28 1850
MARIA GILLESPIE
WIFE OF
EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE
BORN MAR 22 1801
DIED MAY 31 1871
REQUIESCANT IN FAITH



UNIV OF

big enough to have a packet named for him. They died when Jim was young, and they didn't leave anything for him to start with, either. Eph. Blaine was a rich man once, His grandfather left him some \$50,000, but he spent it having a good time. He was not a money saver, but believed in enjoying the world as he lived. He used to drive fine horses, and drive 'em tandem, too. Old Neal Gillespie used to call him "My gig and tandem son-in-law." The Gillespies weren't so slow either, but Eph. Blaine led 'em all in this country. It's no wonder Jim Blaine is smart. He comes of good stock on both sides. All the Gillespies were smart. Neal Gillespie was the biggest brained man in all this country.'

"Do the Blaine's or any of the relations own the old homestead?"

"No, indeed! It's long since passed into strange hands. There was little of either the Blaine or the Gillespie estate left when the settlement-day came. The children all had to begin new. None of either family live about here now. It is a queer section of country in which to have found the homes of two such families as the Blaines and the Gillespies. Both strong houses, both fond of the best things of this life, both educated and brainy. Blaine sprang from revolutionary stock. His great-grandfather was a distinguished officer in the revolution. He was a rich man, and lived in Cumberland County, above Carlisle. He left James Blaine, the grandfather, and Ephraim Blaine, the father of the man of whom I am now writing, rich. The story goes that both spent their money in having a good time. The grandfather spent many years in Europe, and returned to this country only when he had become penniless. There seems to have been good feeling from the first between the Blaine and Gillespie families, and there seems to have been a special care to intermingle the family names as each son was born.'

"The old man whom I encountered in the first part of this story, told me that nearly every son in the Blaine family, as in the Gillespie, wore the family name in some part of his

autograph. The Gillespie family seemed to run more to girls than boys, and it seemed to be their good fortune to link their fortunes with strong men. The daughter who was next in age to Maria, who married Ephraim A. Blaine, was wedded to the famous Tom Ewing, of Ohio, when he was a poor lawyer in Lancaster, Pa. That's how he became an uncle of James G. Blaine, and the names of Blaine and Ewing became joined. There is a tradition here that when old Tom Ewing was Secretary of the Interior Blaine applied to him for a clerkship and the old man sent him to Kentucky to earn an honest living teaching school. This association of the name of Ewing with that of Blaine has given rise to the story that the Ewing family of Ohio helped James G. Blaine to an education. I might as well destroy this fiction by telling the facts. A short drive brought me to Washington, the county seat of this county, and one of the first men I met was Major John H. Ewing, an old veteran, now past four-score years. Said he, I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine. He and I went to school together over in yonder college, and I knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in the mischief of the school, and fond of all the good things of this life. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and he had a wife that was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted. So, you see, Blaine sprang from the best of stock on both sides. His father was justice of the peace over in West Brownville for a number of years, and afterwards Prothonotary of the county. He was elected in 1842, and came here to live. James G. was only about twelve years old then, and almost every middle-aged man you meet on the streets here remembers all about him.'

Mr. Gow, the editor of one of the village papers, who was Blaine's class-mate, speaks thus of his school days: 'Yes, Blaine graduated in the class of '47, when he was only seventeen years old. I graduated in the same class. We were thrown a great deal together, not only in school but in society. He was a great favorite in the best social circles in



MRS. BLAINE IMPARTING INSTRUCTION TO HER SON.

To Mary
At home

the town. He was not noted as a leader in his class. He could learn his lessons too easily. He had the most remarkable memory of any boy in school, and could commit and retain his lessons without difficulty. He never demonstrated in his youth, except by his own wonderful memory, any of the great powers as a debater and thinker that he has since given evidence of.'

"Almost his first occupation after graduating was as a teacher in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Philadelphia. Why he went from there to Kentucky to teach school has been a question often asked, but never answered. There is a tradition here that there is but one being who knows. Like other boys, he had his friendships and his loves, and it would be strange if he had grown up—for he is said to have been as handsome a boy as he is a man—without leaving some impression upon the hearts of the maidens of the neighborhood. If there is one person who can tell, and there is, it has been and doubtless will be forever kept as a sealed book so far as the details are concerned. It was one of those youthful misunderstandings that often come to two people who hope to start out on the voyage of life together and are separated by an angry sea before they meet. There is not even a suggestion as to which of the two was at fault for the parting of the ways that led their life's journeys into different paths. The party most disappointed has never wedded, but has rather devoted her life to self-denying charity for twenty years, and by the irony of fate in the Capital of the Nation has she followed the path of an undeviating Christian life, devoted to careful attention upon suffering humanity, doubtless watching with a careful eye his steadily-advancing steps, and perhaps often sitting under the spell of his eloquence without his ever knowing that the being whose presence was once the chief charm of life was even living."

CHAPTER III.

In the days of Blaine's boyhood, facilities for schooling were very meager, confined generally to subscription schools that usually had but small attendance. Mrs. Blaine being a woman of excellent culture herself, preferred to instruct her own children, rather than trust their education to the indifferent means afforded about the village of Brownsville. As her cares multiplied, however, by increase in her family—James being the first-born—and as Mrs. Matilda Dorsey, an old schoolmate, had opened a subscription school in the vicinity, Mrs. Blaine decided to enter James as a pupil. The stories which Mrs. Dorsey (who is still living in Brownsville, at the advanced age of eighty-two years) tells of her experience with the young hopeful are very amusing now in the light of events which have since transpired. Mrs. Dorsey delights in relating reminiscences of olden times and tells, with a hearty relish, the following story of how she whipped Jim Blaine, the most mischievous boy in her school.

She relates that James became a pupil under her when he was eight years old; at that time he was a ruddy cheeked lad, chock-full of frolic and harmless mischief; though very young he was a leader among much older boys, and as he learned his lessons almost without an effort he had plenty of time for conceiving plans calculated to amuse himself at the expense of others. It was during summer, when blackberries were ripe, and it chanced that near the school-house there was a great patch laden with the luscious fruit. In this Jim, as Mrs. Dorsey still calls him, was wont to linger, filling his internal compartments with berries, and gathering



MRS. MATILDA DORSEY, BLAINE'S FIRST SCHOOL TEACHER—NOW LIVING; AT THE AGE OF 80.
(*Drawn and engraved by a special artist expressly for this work.*)

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others with which to agitate the school. In the lazy days pupils, then as now, would often doze off to sleep, and sometimes even the good-natured school-marm herself would entertain the drowsy god. Jim was too full of mischief to be affected by summer's heat or winter's cold, and in the quiet moments of repose which others indulged he would slyly draw forth a berry and "plump" some sleepy victim. With a start the sleeper would awaken, only to meet the gaze of giggling boys and girls, whose merriment could not be restrained. This tended to demoralize the order which Mrs. Dorsey sought to maintain, and learning that Jim Blaine was the cause, she gave him a severe reprimand, by word, and forbade his again entering the blackberry patch, telling him at the same time that the place was full of copperhead snakes. It was only a few days after receiving this warning—doubtless the following day—when Jim, regardless of snakes or fear of other enemies, again replenished his pockets with berries, to renew the amusing bombardment. It was a dreadfully warm day, so enervating that Mrs. Dorsey herself could not resist the drowsy feeling which stole upon her; in short, she dozed; a gentle doze, sporting in summer dreams so soothing, unconscious of flies, or other annoyances. Her face was towards Jim, but she saw him not, and she reckoned nothing of time or circumstance. Jim studied the distance a moment to get his range, and then, with the precision of a sharp-shooter, let fly from his thumb a swift berry that lighted with force and appalling effect squarely upon the point of Mrs. Dorsey's nose. The aim surprised Jim himself, but not half as much as the final effect did. Mrs. Dorsey awakened with a spring from her chair that did credit to her marvellous activity; a sharp, decisive awakening that indicated trouble, too. Instinct seemed

to tell her that Jim Blaine had done the mischief, notwithstanding his demure looks of infantile innocence.

"Jim Blaine! walk up here," were the words which Mrs. Dorsey addressed to him. Prone to obedience under the grim eye of necessity, Jim marched up and stood with dejected look before his teacher.

"Did you shoot that berry?"

Jim made no response for a while, but looked slowly about him, while a merry twinkle lighted his face that he vainly tried to conceal.

"Did you shoot that berry?" again Mrs. Dorsey fiercely demanded.

"No'm," replied Jim; "I shot *you*."

Mrs. Dorsey, while telling the story, says she was fairly dying to laugh, and the exercise of all her powers alone prevented an exhibition of great impropriety. But for the sake of her dignity and influence in the school room she had to make an example, and therefore caught the offending embryo President, turned him squarely across her lap and with a solid book administered a castigation upon that portion of his anatomy destined to warm the executive chair of the Nation. It was all very unromantic then, but there is some romance connected with the reminiscence now. Mrs. Dorsey declares she laid on with all her muscle, but that Jim was so stubborn that he just lay there without whimpering, and therefore gave her no sort of satisfaction, thus leaving her still the victim of the joke.

The house in which Mrs. Dorsey held school while young Blaine was her pupil is still standing, and is occupied now by a substantial farmer named Elisha Gibbons.



BLAINE'S FIRST CHASTISEMENT AT SCHOOL.

In another interview held with Mrs. Dorsey by a reporter of the same paper, the good old lady told the following story of her distinguished pupil:

“When James went to school to me there was no particular feature about him except his nose, which was so prominent—poor little fellow—that the boys called him “nosy,” not inappropriate but very bad of them. He was bright and mischievous but always knew his lessons.

“Once, when he had been absent from school several days, upon returning took his position at the foot of his class, as was customary. However, on that day when the class was at their spelling exercise, I gave out the word ‘typographically,’ beginning with the boy at the head; he missed it, and so did the second, and all the rest until it came to Jim Blaine. I did not fail to notice his anxiety; his eyes twinkled with anticipation and I could see that he was spelling the word over and over again to himself. One boy came very near spelling the word correctly, which set Jim to digging his bare toe into the floor in nervous expectation. But his turn at length came, and as it reached him he threw back his head like a victor waiting the crown, and with great emphasis spelled, t-y, ty; p-o, po; g-r-a-p-h, graph; i-e-a-l-l-y, *typographically*, he shouted, and went to the head of his class without waiting for my assent.

“Jim was always fond of going up, and he had a way of slurring and aspirating his letters when he was excited as I have tried to show you. You ought to have heard him on that ‘graph.’ Poor little Jim; every good thing he got he would bring me a part of it. Do you think he would come to see me if he should visit Brownsville? If he did, I could not call him Mr. Blaine, but would just have to say: Is this little Jim Blaine.”

In his youth, on account of his shyness and reticence in their society, Blaine was not a general favorite with the village belles. He was quick, intelligent, read a good deal, and was fond of fun. It is told of him that once, when he had been sent to the village store to buy some fish, the storekeeper, by way of jest, gave him an article which he had not asked for. The boy, unaware of the trick played upon him, carried the article home, only to be sent back again. Upon his re-entrance into the store he was greeted with roars of laughter from the assembled loungers. It was a crude, practical joke, but it was sufficient to give Blaine a "nickname." There was more point in his revenge. The man who played the joke upon him, a short time after, was unloading some grain, and keeping a record of the number of bushels by placing one corn-cob for each bushel, upon a ledge. Young Blaine remained a passive but interested spectator until the work of unloading had made considerable progress, then he quietly removed the corn-cobs, and the measuring had to be done over again. The victim took the jest in good part, and acknowledged that the honors were easy.



YOUNG BLAINE PERPETRATING A PRACTICAL JOKE.

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CHAPTER IV.

Filled with that mischievous exuberance which induces many a boy to risk his neck to perpetrate a joke, young Blaine, on one occasion, went to a neighbor's upon some errand, and reaching the house could find no one on the premises; he immediately conceived the idea of acquainting the old farmer with his visit by leaving proofs of the fact in a way calculated to excite no little ire. Evidently the farmer was no great distance away, for his two horses had just been unhitched from a wagon and left tied under the shade of a large tree. On a piece of newspaper, which he chanced to find, the young mischief-maker wrote, with the stub of a pencil, something like the following:

“Mr. — I am a member of the robber gang; your horse suits me, and being tired, I have concluded to ride the rest of the way. Look out for me for I may be back in a few days to get the other one.

_____”

The farmer had gone to the spring for water and came back just in time to see the lad riding leisurely down the road leading from the house. Chase was at once given, but young Blaine made good time; it soon got too exciting, however, and the boy checked up, rolled off the horse and broke for the woods. When the farmer returned to his house and read the note which young Blaine had written and pinned on the door, he saw that he had been made the victim of an innocent joke, and laughed heartily.

There were very few more tender hearted boys than young Blaine; his sympathies were easily excited and he

was ready to go to any extremity to relieve suffering. It is reported that a poor widow of Brownsville became so distressed for means to support her several children that she was compelled to sell her cow to a butcher. When the man came to lead the animal away young Blaine happened to be present and saw the widow crying. Pity rose rank in him at once, and asking the cause of her tears the woman told him of how she had sold the cow that had given her family support for so long a time. This so grieved the sympathetic boy that he ran after the butcher, followed by the woman's children, and implored him to restore the poor widow's cow. The man answered this request with gruff impatience, whereupon young Blaine offered him, if he would return the cow, everything on his person, including a small watch that had been given him by his uncle and which he very highly prized. Finding all his entreaties vain the boy cried with a grief which was no doubt as poignant as that felt by the poor woman herself, and for weeks he talked of scarcely anything but the widow's misfortune, which he tried every way to relieve.

While Mr. Blaine was studying law in Carlisle a man came to him one day with a long story of his wrongs, which he said, for want of means to employ a lawyer, he could not redress. Mr. Blaine listened patiently to the man's statement, which was to this effect: He had purchased a little home in the country with money which he had been carefully hoarding for several years, and went to farming on a small patch of ground which he could barely make produce enough to satisfy the necessities of his family, but there was a prospect before him of improvement; the home was his, and hard work and economy he felt would certainly



BOYHOOD INCIDENT ILLUSTRATING BLAINE'S SYMPATHY.

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bring an increase. These reflections were seriously disturbed, however, when a money shark of the place notified him that the deed to his home was defective and that a quit-claim must be purchased or he would begin suit for possession. Mr. Blaine was much interested in the story, and at once began an investigation of the complaint; he was not long in learning that his client had reported the facts substantially, so far as he knew them, and the young but acute student ascertained that the defect in the title had been purposely made by the money shark who had taken the acknowledgments; that the entire purchase had been paid and that the case was one in which a declaration of rights and promises of punishment would avail more swiftly and surely than to trust it to a judicial inquiry. Acting upon this theory, Mr. Blaine went directly to the notarial miscreant's office, where an interview followed substantially as follows:

Blaine—"Mr. ——— I called to see you with relation to an interest which you claim to hold in the property purchased and now occupied by my client, Mr. ———."

Money Shark—"Yes, yes, I hold an interest in that property. The deed of transfer was never signed by the wife of the conveyor, and I purchased her equity in the property."

B.—"So that is why you want Mr. ——— to buy your quit-claim. I see quite clearly now. Mr. Blank, may I ask if it were not yourself who took the acknowledgments to the deed that conveyed this property; and did you not certify to the signatures of both the conveyor and his wife, and were you not intimately acquainted with the lady and received her consent to the conveyance? Answer me these questions."

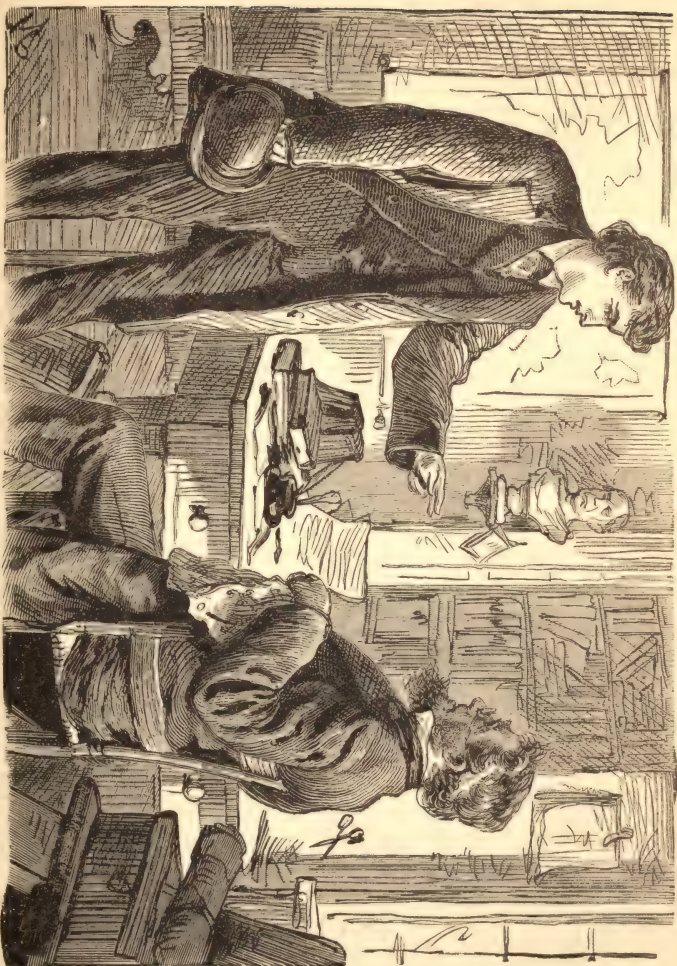
Money Shark.—“ Well—well—I have forgotten many of the particulars—”

B.—“ Yes, you have forgotten; your infirmity in that respect entitles you to much pity; but without wasting words I want to say, emphatically, that if you don't at once renounce your pretended interest in Mr. ——'s property by giving him the quit-claim you hold I will sue you on your notarial bond, and have you indicted besides, you miserable old scoundrel! Your crime is of the most dastardly character, and I will follow you all the rest of my days or make you atone for it, so far as it affects my client.”

The effect of Mr. Blaine's speech was to produce a great change in the old money shark, for seeing that the young but resolute disciple of Justinian meant no idle threat, the old fellow readily renounced all interest in the property, and not only this, but begged Mr. Blaine to keep the matter quiet for the sake of his family.

This was Mr. Blaine's first and only appearance as an attorney, and for his success his pay was in the satisfaction he felt for having circumvented the scheme of a villain to rob a poor man.

Mr. Blaine's father died leaving his estate in jeopardy, with taxes unpaid and much of the landed property under mortgage. Mrs. Blaine was therefore compelled to take upon herself a burden of responsibility for which she was wholly unprepared. Necessity forced her to a very great task, the care of a household and an estate that was on the verge of dissolution. Bravely, almost hopefully, she did her duty, but with all her energy there seemed no abatement of the troubles, and soon her health began to show the effects of constant worry and unrequited effort. The lines, gradually deepening, of insidious disease, appeared one after



CONTENDING FOR JUSTICE—INCIDENT IN BLAINE'S BOYHOOD.

70 Years
of Progress

another, and wasting strength was not long in confining her to the bed. Here she lay, with patient resignation, for months, displaying true Christian fortitude, solaced by her Bible, which never left the bed on which she rested. Reared a Catholic, she was catholic in all things, not only in devotion to church rites, but to Christian duties as well. When she at length became too weak to hold her Bible, she had those who watched and cared for her to read aloud consolatory selections. When death began to breathe upon her, she did not mistake its meaning, and while conscious faculties remained she called her son James, and while he knelt by the bedside she placed her hands upon his head and gave him her bounteous blessings. When the boy arose, through his blinding tears he saw the still face of his mother, so still and wan that instinct told him she was dead. Thus died a noble Christian woman, whose proud spirit was denied the boundless happiness of seeing her blessings attend her son through the highest avenues of life, to that honor which no greater can be given by a nation.

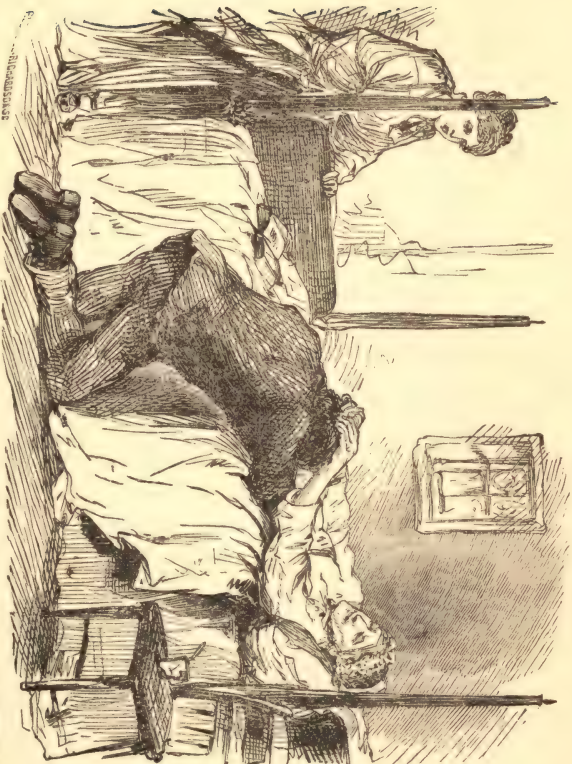
CHAPTER V.

The school advantages about Brownsville were limited, as Mrs. Dorsey was the only teacher, and even she taught irregularly. But Mrs. Blaine gave much attention to instructing her children, and James was not yet in his teens when he had progressed so far in his education that the neighborhood teacher could instruct him no further.

Mrs. Blaine's mother was a Miss O'Boyle, the daughter of an Irish patriot who, on account of having participated in the Revolutionary movement of 1798, had been compelled to flee Ireland. He first went to France, but soon left there and came to this country, settling in the Hocking Valley, Ohio. Mr. O'Boyle had three daughters, all famous beauties, one of whom married Mr. Blaine, another Tom Ewing, and the youngest married Gen. W. T. Sherman.

Tom Ewing, the great uncle of James G. Blaine, was a resident of Lancaster, Ohio, where there was a school of some local importance, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Ewing, James, who was now twelve years of age, was sent there to continue his education. Mr. Ewing was at that time Secretary of the Treasury under the administration of John Tyler, and the cultured family of which he was the head, of which James was now made a member, exerted a most excellent influence on the ambitious youth.

Having had home instruction, chiefly from his mother, James was already familiar with the rudimentary studies when he went to Lancaster, and in one year after entering



JAMES G. BLAINE RECEIVING THE BLESSING OF HIS DYING MOTHER.

TO THE
LIBRARY OF THE
CONGRESS

the school there he was advanced to its standard for graduation. Mr. Ewing insisting upon his continuing his studies, in 1843 James was sent to Washington College, Pennsylvania, where he applied himself with such diligence that in 1847 he graduated at the head of a class of thirty-three members. He was prominent as a scholar among the two or three hundred other lads from all parts of the country, and because of his splendid physique he was also a leader in all manly athletic sports. He was not a bookworm, or a burner of midnight oil, but he was a close student and possessed the happy faculty of assimilating knowledge from books and tutors far more easily and quickly than most of his fellows. In debating societies he held his own well, and was conspicuous by his ability to control and direct others.

In his own classes he was always foremost as a scholar, and personally very popular. To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero—uniformly kind to them, ready to give assistance and advice, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. His handsome person and neat attire; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance; his frank, generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions. He was always for the “under dog in the fight;” and at the end of the usual four years’ course at college he was graduated with the most distinguished honors of his class, and went forth into practical life well fitted in acquirements and training to deal with its problems, and bearing as a crown of youthful honor the affection and esteem of all his associates. The

branches in which he particularly excelled, and for which he received special honors, were mathematics, logic, Latin and political economy.

He was not yet eighteen years of age, but circumstances compelled the immediate employment of his talents. He was now a thin but muscular young man, full of western dash and dauntless spirit. Ohio, where he had received many permanent impressions, was then a fairly frontier State in which were all the elements of hardihood and independence, which left a marked impression on him during his schooling at Lancaster. As a student, James had been foremost in his classes, a leader among his associates, and now on manhood's threshold he showed a determination not to loiter behind the van that marched under the banner of ambition.

For a year or more he tried to recover some of the estate which should have rightfully been his, but he found it quite impossible. His father had owned the largest amount of lands in Pennsylvania that had, up to that time, ever passed into one man's possession in America, but the investments had proved far from profitable, leaving him, indeed, land poor; much the greater portion of all his lands had reverted to the State for non-payment of taxes, titles to other parts were defective, and that which still belonged to him was non-productive and unsalable. In this condition the estate was left at the time of the elder Blaine's death, so that from wealth the family had been reduced to comparative poverty, with a portion remaining barely sufficient to support the widow.

Nothing else offering, suited to his experience or abilities, James engaged and taught a six month's private school near Carlisle, in which he gave general satisfaction to his patrons, but made very little money.

He cast about for more remunerative employment, but finding none that promised better than teaching, he concluded to turn his steps westward where the avenue leading to fortune was broader and more direct. It chanced that about this time, through the influence of Tom Ewing, he was offered a professorship in the Western Military Academy at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, and upon accepting was assigned to the Chair of Mathematics. This college was one of very great importance then, having on its roll not less than five hundred students, representing sections of nearly all the States.

In this capacity he continued one year with great satisfaction to the faculty, but with so little to himself that he decided to adopt the legal profession, and with that end in view he returned to Pennsylvania, where he studied law, but was never admitted to the bar.

During his connection with the Military School, two specially memorable circumstances occurred which left their permanent impress upon him. One of these was the evolution of a real battle from the theoretical tactics which the college daily imparted. A dispute arose between the owners of the Springs and the College principals, which finally culminated in a pitched battle, in which knives, clubs and pistols were freely used. A student of this college, who is at present a retired army officer, relates that Mr. Blaine, who was at that time a thin, handsome and very earnest young man, exhibited very great personal courage, participating in the affray with no other weapons than those nature had provided him with, which he used with such well disciplined energy, that he became a heroic victor and was duly complimented for his bravery. Thus early did he give evidence of his adherence to party and courage to defend his principles.

The other circumstance was of even greater interest to the young aspirant. Twenty miles distant, at a small town called Millersburg, was a young ladies' seminary, and it is in no sense strange that there should have been more or less mingling of the pupils between the two schools. Among the young lady students was a Miss Stanwood, a beautiful Massachusetts girl, possessed of exceeding grace and great conversational powers. Mr. Blaine had scarcely been introduced to this attractive lady before he was securely caught in the meshes of love. Being a professor, though young, he felt the restraints which a proper dignity demanded he should constantly assume; he brooded over the hardship of not being able to prosecute his suit with the free abandon of those who, though no younger than he, were yet school-boys. A professor in love, viewed through the romantic eye of a student, is about as grotesque in appearance as a bevy of cows dancing a jig. Mr. Blaine realized all this, and fretted under his embarrassments, until his desire for freedom to act without the constraints of professorial dignity finally led him to resign his seat in the college and return to Pennsylvania, as previously remarked. Here he became a newspaper and magazine contributor, his articles attracting much attention for their clearness of style and logical reasoning.

His love making by letter progressed favorably, and within less than a year after leaving the military academy Miss Harriet Stanwood became his wife. She was the eighth of nine children. Her father, Jacob Stanwood, moved to Augusta from Ipswich, Mass., in 1822. He had two wives. He had one child by his first wife; by his second wife, who was Sally Caldwell, of Ipswich, he had seven children, and Harriet was the seventh of them. Her father was for many years a wood-merchant. He died Jan. 20, 1845, aged

59, from disease of the heart, dropping dead instantly while in the Freeman's Bank of Augusta. Miss Stanwood's parents were never wealthy, but they were prominent and influential. To relieve her father of a part of the burden which the support of his considerable family imposed, she taught school for several terms, principally in Kentucky, and was an instructor in the Millersburg Academy when Mr. Blaine first met her.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Blaine was exceedingly happy with his heart's choice, a woman who possessed all his love and who was equally faithful to him. But though he reckoned not of the difficulties which might thwart his purposes by reason of his poverty, yet the world before him was all uphill, with no friendly Alpinestock of even moderate wealth to give assistance. In place of wealth, however, Mr. Blaine had moral courage, a hopeful mind, energy and talents; these were his aids, and bounteous they proved to be.

The contributions which he had made to the press, received with such favor, inclined him towards journalism, particularly as he had as yet made no preparations for entering any other profession. Some of his wife's relatives were residing in Augusta, Maine, and as the *Kennebec Journal* of that city was known by them to be in need of an editor, they proposed that Mr. Blaine should fill the position. The proposition was gladly accepted, and he was thus inducted into the profession most congenial to all his aspirations.

As editor of the *Journal*, Mr. Blaine rapidly gained reputation, and the paper vastly increased its influence; indeed at the time he entered upon its editorship the paper had a precarious support and doubtful financial standing; his able pen and management soon changed it to a prosperous and most important journal and gave it a position so substantial that it still survives as the leading paper of Maine. In politics it was Whig, that grand party which emerged into a more brilliant organization, after the defeat of Clay, as our present Republican party. Mr. Blaine was fully in accord

with the sentiments and hopes of the Whigs, and he fought the good fight with the strong weapons which he kept bright by constant use. In 1857 he sold his interest in the *Journal* and became editor of the *Portland Daily Advertiser*, in which capacity he continued until 1860, when, on account of the illness of Judge Baker, his old partner, who was editing the *Kennebec Journal*, he returned to that paper to conduct it through the exciting campaign of that year.

Mr. Blaine had been in Maine less than two years when his power as a writer, speaker and political leader became recognized. He was a strong Fremont man, and took the stump in the campaign of 1856, addressing immense audiences in all parts of the State, in which he gained such influence that in 1858 he was elected to the Legislature. Here he served with great distinction and was re-elected in 1860 and chosen speaker of the Lower House. He was recognized as the ablest parliamentarian that had, up to that time, ever sat in the Maine Legislature. His services were relied on to propose and carry through measures designed for the benefit of the business interests of his State, and to defeat those of ill considered and ulterior purpose.

When the Whig party went to pieces Mr. Blaine proposed and joined influences with Governor Anson P. Morrill, in organizing the Republican party in the Pine Tree State. His vigorous attacks against the Buchanan administration made him an immense power in the new organization.

In a private letter the late Governor Kent, of Maine, thus speaks of this great man:

“Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized

by Fessenden, Hamlin, the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State—always leading his party to brilliant victory. Had Mr. Blaine been New England born, he would probably not have received such rapid advancement at so early an age, even with the same ability he possessed. But there was a sort of Western *dash* about him that took with us Down-Easters; an expression of frankness, candor and confidence that gave him from the start a very strong and permanent hold on our people and, as the foundation of all, a pure character and a masterly ability equal to all demands made upon him.”

Mr. Blaine drew up the first platform ever adopted by the Republicans of Maine, in 1854. At its ratification, he addressed the State Convention as follows:

“Sink or Swim;” therefore, as old John Adams said, “live or die, survive or perish,” we give our hands and our hearts to this great Republican movement. We cannot be content to sit down and hug the fossil remains of dead issues. Let the dead bury the dead. We live for the present and the future. We grasp the living issues—the duties of to-day. When the voice of our country calls to us; when the bugle note of liberty from every hill and valley, from the East, the West, the North and the South is summoning its friends to the glorious contest, let traitors flee to the enemy where they belong, and cowards seek refuge under the shadow of the dead past; but as for us, we will obey the call; nor can we stop to ask who is our leader, or who stand by our side, or what uniform they wear, or weapons they use, if they are gallantly battling for the right. No, we will help fight this battle. We will help bear the glorious banner of Republican liberty on to victory, till

our government is completely and forever divorced from slavery and wielded "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The pronounced opinions of Mr. Blaine, so eloquently and forcibly expressed, became, much through his influence, predominant in the future political campaigns in Maine. He never swerved or for one moment deviated in his allegiance to these exalted principles, remaining loyal and consistent through all the trying vicissitudes and ordeals which his party had to encounter in the rugged path that led upward to victory.

CHAPTER VII.

The first duty that Mr. Blaine performed after he took his seat in the House, in 1854, was when he was charged by that branch to inform the Senate that the House had made choice of William Pitt Fessenden as United States Senator for six years. Mr. Fessenden was one of Maine's great statesmen, and had for many years adorned the United States Senate, and held other high offices with honor to himself and to his State. Mr. Blaine commenced at once to take part in the debates of the House, and was recognized as one of its leaders. The first speech he made, which may be considered his maiden effort, was in reply to Frederick A. Pike, a member from Calais, afterwards a distinguished member of Congress from Maine, in which he favored a salary to members of the Legislature, instead of *per diem* pay. His proposition was carried, and afterwards engrafted into the constitution of the State. The first speech of public interest he made during his service in the Legislature (1859) was on a series of resolves introduced into the House, by the representatives of the National Administration, favoring the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. Mr. Blaine contended that it was a dangerous measure, both as to practice and precedence, and that it was objectionable on every consideration of expediency and right. He said:

“So far, Mr. Speaker, as the resolves under consideration imply disapproval of the Slidell measure, they have my entire concurrence, and, I have no doubt, the concurrence of a large majority of this House. I object to their adoption,

however, because they express in an indirect manner what I wish to see as certain, explicit, and with emphasis. The proposition to place thirty millions of dollars at the disposal of the President, and to run the Nation in debt, for the purpose of raising the money; to surrender to him the power to make treaties, annex territories, and form States; to create him absolute dictator with the purse of the Nation in one hand, and the sword in the other; to have peace or war, prosperity or misfortune follow at his will, or be decided by his errors. Such a proposition, I say, is too monstrous to be entertained for one moment by anyone who values the preservation of constitutional rights and the perpetuity of a Republican Union. A dozen years ago, when our country was in actual war with the neighboring nations, when it was supposed that peace could be promoted and hastened by placing three millions of dollars at the disposal of the President, the proposition was regarded as so dangerous that staid, conservative and dignified Senators thought themselves justified in resorting to methods of opposition, almost revolutionary in their character, in order to compass its defeat. The precedent was regarded as a dangerous one, and was even admitted to be so by those who sustained the measure, the only plausible defect of which was that the fund appropriated might and would hasten the peace which was so generally desired. But now, when we are in profound 'amity and concord' with all the nations of the earth, when a change in our foreign relations would most probably be for the worse, it is deliberately proposed to place under the control of the President the enormous sum of thirty millions of dollars, in order to see whether he may not corrupt Spanish officials into a transfer of their most valuable dependency, and possibly get us into a war with

England and France, as a sort of premium to the value of Cuban acquisition. The proposition to place three millions at President Polk's disposal to get us out of war, as I have said, was considered doubtful and dangerous, and yet it is coolly proposed to give President Buchanan ten times as large a sum to see if in some kind of secret diplomacy he may not possibly be able to get us into a war. The Democratic party in Congress sustained both measures, the past, and the present. But I think it a foolish species of political arithmetic that considers it worth three millions of dollars in 1847 to get us out of a war, with a weak power, and yet has no hesitancy to pay thirty millions in 1859, for the possibility of getting into a war with three strong powers! I do not wonder, therefore, that the administration Democrats in this State fail, as they have failed to endorse the outrageous measure, and all I desire is, that the Maine Legislature will not content itself with the implied disapprobation of the Slidell scheme proposed in the resolutions before us, but that a manly, outspoken and explicit protest shall be recorded against so dangerous a policy.

* * * * *

“The executive power of the country is sufficiently strong and overshadowing already, without seeking to aggrandize and increase it by enormous grants of extra-constitutional power. Let us discountenance and repudiate this alarming measure as dangerous in itself, and not even tending to compass the object which is put forth as the pretext and excuse for it. Let us cease a fruitless and aimless agitation at home, which no one expects to result in practical good; and let us cease also to insult and menace that proud old Monarchy of Castile and Arraby, to which, as Mr.

Buchanan asserts, 'we are bound by ties of ancient friendship, that we sincerely desire to render perpetual.'"

The resolutions were defeated, and at the instance of Mr. Blaine, the Legislature passed a resolve instructing the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Maine, to reflect the will of their constituents by vigorously opposing the measure.

In the Summer of 1858, the Republican party held their convention at Augusta, for the nomination of a candidate for governor. Lot M. Morrill of that city was nominated. Mr. Blaine was a member of that convention from Augusta. He served on the Committee on Resolutions, and was appointed its Chairman. The convention adopted the resolutions reported by him, and which were drafted by his vigorous and trenchant pen. These resolutions declared the determined hostility of the Republicans of Maine to the insulting claims of the slave-holding aristocracy, who furnished the maxims, and dictated the measures, and laid down the principles of the party in power in the Federal Government, but, happily out of power in most of the free States. The Republican party upheld the dignity, the education, and the elevation of labor. Unlike their opponents, they ~~disbelieved in its necessary~~ ignorance and degradation. It refused to recognize the doctrines of the Democratic Oligarchy that the laboring class is in a fixed condition of chronic ignorance and barbarism, who must forever remain the mud-sills of society, and the people of the free States were called upon to repudiate those insolent pretenders of a pampered aristocracy, who claimed to have governed the free States for nearly sixty years, by taking that government into their own hands. The resolutions further declared that the political contest of that time deeply involve

the old question of Federal supremacy and State rights. In this controversy the Republicans held to the doctrine of State rights as expounded by the fathers of the constitution, believing that the liberties of the people would fall when the State should become subordinate to the general government, and consolidation usurp the place of a federative Union of essentially independent sovereignty; "that we have an abiding faith in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, interpreted without qualifications, and reverence the noble men who dared announce and stand by them in the day of their unpopularity." The doctrine of the Republican platform, adopted at Philadelphia in 1856, was re-affirmed. "The administration of James Buchanan has proved itself to be unworthy of the confidence of the American people by its course towards those who are struggling to establish free institutions in Kansas, which betrays a spirit more desperate and corrupt than that which animated the British king and ministers in their treatment of the American Colonies which drew our fathers into war." The era of extravagance and corruption of government was denounced, and it was declared that it was the duty of the State government to foster its industrial interests.

Among the interesting earlier incidents of Mr. Blaine's political career, was his election as a delegate from his Congressional district to the first Republican National Convention, in May, 1856, which nominated John C. Fremont to the Presidency. Upon his return from the convention a ratification meeting was held in Augusta, in Meonian Hall, and upon the urgent insistence of some of his personal friends, he was persuaded, reluctantly, to appear upon the platform and make report of the doings of the convention. This was his first public effort. He was then twenty-six

years of age. Although remarkably ready and easy of speech and holding a practiced and powerful pen, he had an almost unconquerable repugnance to letting his voice be heard, except in familiar conversation where his brilliant powers of statement and argument, his marvelous memory of dates and events in political history, and his acquaintance with, and keen estimate of, the public men and parties of the day, were the delight and wonder of all who listened to him. Those present will recall the trepidation, at once painful and ludicrous, with which he rose to address the meeting. In confronting the sea of faces, almost every one of which was known to him, he seemed to be struggling to master the terror that possessed him. He turned pale and red by turns, and almost tottering to the front, he stood trembling until the generous applause which welcomed him had died away, when, by a supreme effort, he broke the spell, at first by the utterance of some hesitating words of greeting and thanks, and gathering confidence, he went on with a speech which stirred the audience as with the sound of a trumpet, and held all present in breathless interest and attention to its close. From that moment Mr. Blaine took rank among the most effective popular speakers of the day; but it may be doubted if among the many maturer efforts of his genius and eloquence upon the political platform, or the legislative tribune, he has ever excited an audience to a more passionate enthusiasm or left a profounder impression upon the minds and hearts of his hearers.

During the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1859-60, there was a joint convention of the Republican members of both branches, together with the Republican State Committee, for the purpose of selecting eight delegates to the Republican National Convention, to be held at Chicago,

July 29, 1860. At this convention, Mr. Blaine presented the following resolutions, which he himself drafted, and which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the Republicans of Maine hereby declare their unfaltering attachment to their party, cherishing its principles with ardent zeal and adhering to its organization with patient fidelity. They do not, therefore, recognize the propriety or still less the necessity of going outside of their own ranks for a standard-bearer in the great national contest which is to vindicate their principles and their policy.

Resolved, That the delegates elected by this convention are hereby authorized to cast their influence at Chicago for Republican candidates who shall be deemed most likely to concentrate the largest vote at the polls in November next—principle being regarded as superior to men, and the triumph of the cause above everything else.

Resolved, That in enunciating these positions we are but re-affirming the views to which the people of Maine have always adhered. They ask for no new interpretations of the constitution, but demand that it shall be construed and administered in the spirit in which it was framed. Attached to the Union by patriotic association and the ties of commercial interest, the people of this State will be the last to adopt any course of action which will afford just cause for dissolving or weakening the bonds which unite them to their sister members of the Confederacy.

Resolved, That the latest promulgation of political doctrine by the Democratic members of the United States Senate, is one more proof that the Democratic party is sectional in its principles, and is wielded for the supremacy of a sectional and dangerous institution. To a manly opposition and constitutional resistance to all new pro-slavery dogmas and all perversions of our great Charter of Freedom, the Republicans of Maine pledge themselves to the end of the struggle.

At the very outset of the war, Gov. Washburne, who was Chief Magistrate of the State, committed to Mr. Blaine's

hands many important trusts which His Excellency was pleased to state in a letter to Mr. Blaine, "were discharged with energy and promptitude, and I believe with the most scrupulous fidelity to the interests of the State."

Mr. Blaine made strong and earnest speeches enjoining upon every lover of his country and its institutions to stand by the government in the pending struggle for self-preservation. He contributed largely of his means for the equipment of volunteers who left their homes to defend their country, and in aid to their families.

During the progress of the rebellion, no other man in Maine did more in aiding the State authorities to meet the requirements of the General Government than Mr. Blaine. Animated by the spirit of his Revolutionary ancestors, his efforts were unremitting in keeping alive the fires of patriotism through the darkest days of that trying ordeal through which the Nation passed, and in raising such material aid as the State needed and must have to meet her share of the responsibility that the extraordinary exigency required. The gravity of the occasion he fully realized, but never for a moment was his faith shaken in the ultimate preservation of the Union by a loyal people.

CHAPTER VIII.

Henceforth it was Mr. Blaine's destiny to be a great political leader. His acumen, energy, fertility of resource, and immense powers propelled him into public life, where his nature found its relaxations if not indeed pleasures. When war became an active reality and there were two flags floating beneath the cerulean that covered one republic, Mr. Blaine raised his voice with Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, Greeley, and those patriots whose grasp of mind had forecast and measured the effects of freedom among that long-suffering class whose conception of the word was based alone on delusive dreams. He favored the war and would willingly have gone to the front, but for the persuasive petitions which poured in upon him, declaring that his counsel was of more importance to the nation than his fighting strength was to the army, that hundreds of thousands stood with willing and anxious hearts ready to respond to the nation's call for armed men, while there were few with wise heads and honest hearts left to guide the imperiled ship of state. He therefore reluctantly consented to place his services where the public believed they would be most valuable, and in 1862 he was nominated for Congress from the Kennebec District of Maine and elected by more than 3,000 majority. Thus began his political career in the councils of the nation, where his power was soon made manifest by the wisdom which he displayed at a time when wise and courageous men were so badly needed to sustain our bleeding country by allaying the doubts of the helpless and hopeless.

The superior ability and high qualifications of Mr. Blaine drew towards him the spontaneous and, as it proved, unanimous support of the friends of the National Administration in the Kennebec district, where he resided. As a member of the State Legislature, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and in other important places of political trust, he had shown himself more than equal to the expectations of his friends and the public. He was now presented as a candidate to represent the Third District in the halls of Congress, and at Waterville, at a convention of Republicans, held July 8, 1862, he received an unanimous nomination. This honor was accepted by Mr. Blaine in a speech as follows, after he had been informed of the nomination and was tendered mutual congratulations:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

I am here to acknowledge with profound and heartfelt thanks the honor which you have conferred upon me as your candidate for Representative in the Thirty-Eighth Congress. The unanimity of your action to me is one of its most embarrassing features, for it implies a confidence in my fitness for the position, which I may well distrust my ability to respond to and justify. I can only pledge my best intentions and my most earnest efforts to serve the constituency of the Third District faithfully and zealously, should the nomination made this day be ratified at the polls.

I do not wish to indulge in profuse promises, for the Representative should be tested, I think, rather by his acts than by his professions. I deem it my duty, however, to say that if I am called to a seat in Congress, I shall go there with a determination to stand heartily and unreservedly by the administration of Abraham Lincoln. In the success of that administration, in the good Providence of God, rests,

I solemnly believe, the fate of the Union. If we cannot subdue the rebellion through the agency of the Administration, there is no other human power to which we can turn. Hence I repeat, that I shall conceive it my duty, as your faithful Representative, to be unswerving in my adherence to the policy and the measures which the President in his wisdom may adopt.

In this way alone, gentlemen, can we preserve that unity of action among the loyal people so essential to the maintenance of our nationality. That unity once broken, we can have no well founded hope of success. We hear a great deal of talk about the base of operations in the war; at one time on the York river, at another on the Pamunky, and still another on the James. There is one base of operations stronger than all these, and that is in the united hearts and the united action of the loyal people. That once broken, all other bases of operation are gone.

The great object with us all is to subdue the rebellion—speedily, effectually and finally. In our march to that end we must crush all intervening obstacles. If slavery or any other “institution” stands in the way, it must be removed. Perish all things else, the national life must be saved. My individual convictions of what may be needful are perhaps far in advance of those entertained by some, and less radical than those conscientiously held by others. Whether they are the one or the other, however, I do not wish to see an attempt to carry them out until it can be done with the resistless energy of the loyal masses. I think myself the masses are rapidly adopting the idea that to smite the rebellion, its malignant cause must be smitten, and that to preserve the Union all agencies willing to work for its preservation must be freely and energetically used. That

seems to be the conclusion to which in due time the nation will arrive. Perhaps we are slow in coming to it, and it may be that we are even now receiving our severe chastisement for not more readily accepting the teachings of Providence. It was the tenth plague which softened the heart of Pharaoh and caused him to let the oppressed go free. That plague was the sacrifice of the first-born in each household. With the sanguinary battlefields, whose records of death we are just reading, I ask you in the language of another, "how far off are we from the day when our households will have paid that penalty to offended heaven?"

The rebels must, I think, be deprived of the invaluable aid of their slaves, and that should be turned to the benefit of the Union cause. Shall it be done? Answer ye loyal men of the North!—shall it be done? The decision rests with you.

Thanking you again, gentlemen of the Convention, for the honor you have bestowed upon me, I close as I began, by declaring that as a Representative, if so elected, I shall best serve your interests and most faithfully reflect your wishes by supporting, to the best of my ability, the policy and the measures of the National Administration.

Mr. Blaine was elected by the largest majority ever polled in the district for a Congressional candidate.

In August, 1864, Mr. Blaine was nominated for a second term to Congress, from his district, by a unanimous vote. In reply to the letter informing him of his nomination, he accepted it in the following letter to the chairman of the Convention:

AUGUSTA, AUGUST 20, 1864.

Gen. J. R. Bachelder:

DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your favor formally ad-

vising me that on the 10th instant, the Union Convention of the Third District unanimously nominated me for re-election as Representative in Congress. For this generous action, as well as for the cordial manner attending it, and the very complimentary phrases in which it is conveyed, I am under profound obligations. It is far easier for me to find the inspiring cause of such favor and such unanimity in the personal partiality of friends, than in any merits or services which I may justly claim as my own.

In nominating me as a Union candidate, and pledging me to no other platform, you place me on the precise ground I desire to occupy. The controlling and absorbing issue before the American people is whether the Federal Union shall be saved or lost. In comparison with that, all other issues and controversies are subordinate, and entitled to consideration just in the degree that they may influence the end which Washington declared to be "the primary object of patriotic desire." To maintain the Union, a gigantic war has been carried on, now in the fourth year of its duration, and the resources of the country, both in men and money, have been freely expended in support of it. This war was not a matter of choice with the government, unless it was prepared to surrender its power over one-half of its territory and incur all the hazards of anarchy throughout the other half. It was begun by those who sought to overthrow the Federal authority. It should be ended the very day that authority is recognized and re-established throughout its rightful domain.

The desire for peace after the sufferings and trials of the past three years is natural. Springing from the very instincts of humanity, it is irrepressible. The danger to be avoided is that in aiming to attain peace we shall be de-

ceived by the shadow, and thus fail to secure the substance. Peace on the basis of disunion is a delusion. It is no peace at all. It is but the beginning of war—more wasteful, more destructive, more cruel than we have thus far experienced. Those who cry for the “immediate cessation of war” are the best advocates for its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of rebel independence, and rebel independence is absolutely incompatible with peace.

Among the cherished errors of those who are willing to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as the basis of peace, the most fatal is that which assumes the continued union, harmony and power of the loyal States. This cannot be. Contentions and strifes would at once spring up. The border States would be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to. The Pacific slope, to escape the dangers and constant embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, would naturally seek for independence; and the Northwest, if it did not follow the example, would demand such a reconstruction of the government of the remaining States as would make our further connection therewith undesirable if not absolutely intolerable. In short, disunion upon the line of the revolted States would involve the total and speedy disintegration of the Federal Government, and we would find ourselves launched on “a sea of troubles” with no pilot capable of holding the helm, and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

There is indeed but one path of safety, and that is likewise the path of honor and of interest. We must preserve the Union. Differ as we may as to the measures necessary to that end, there should be no difference among loyal men as

to the end itself. No sacrifice we can make in our efforts to save the Union is comparable with that we should make in losing it. He is the enemy to both sections and to the common cause of humanity and civilization who is willing to conclude the war by surrendering the Union; and the most alarming development of the times is the disposition manifested by leading journals, by public men, and by political conventions in the loyal States to accept this conclusion. For myself, in the limited sphere of my influence, I shall never consent to such delusive settlement of our troubles. Neither at the polls as an American citizen, nor in Congress as a Representative (should I again be chosen) will I ever give a vote admitting even the possibility of ultimate failure in this great struggle for nationality.

Very respectfully your obd't servant,

J. G. BLAINE.

During the first term of his long career as Representative he had for colleagues such men as Elihu B. Washburn, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, John A. Kasson, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, F. P. Blair, jr., James Brooks, Erastus Corning, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, George H. Pendleton, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Thaddeus Stevens, G. W. Scofield, and many other distinguished men. Among these he soon was recognized as a man whose influence was sure to be felt and to increase with time.

His first reputation in the Lower House of Congress was that of an exceedingly industrious committeeman. He was a member of the Post Office and Military Committees, and of the Committees on Appropriations and Rules. He paid

close attention to the business of the committees, and took an active part in the debates of the House, manifesting practical ability and genius for details. The first remarkable speech which he made in Congress was on the subject of the assumption by the General Government of the war debts of the States, in the course of which he urged that the North was abundantly able to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. This vigorous speech created such enthusiasm that 200,000 copies of it were circulated in 1864 by the Republican party, as a campaign document, and it did very much to sustain the waning courage of Northern people. A few days after the delivery of this masterly speech, a question was raised in Congress that caused several allusions to the sentiments which Mr. Blaine therein expressed. Thaddeus Stevens took this occasion to say that "Blaine, of Maine, has shown as great aptitude and ability for the higher walks of public life as any man that has come to Congress during his term of service."

During the first term of Mr. Blaine's service in Congress, as a member of the Post Office Committee, he actively cooperated with the chairman, Hon. John B. Alley, and the late James Brooks, of New York, in encouraging and securing the system of postal cars now in use. Distributing of the mails on the cars had not been previously attempted on any considerable scale, and the first appropriation for the enlarged service was not made without opposition. With becoming modesty, rather waiting to become familiar with the rules of Congress before thrusting himself into conspicuous prominence, Mr. Blaine served his first term, eliciting praise for all his actions from both parties.

In 1864 Mr. Blaine was re-elected to Congress by an overwhelming majority, and serving in this, the thirty-

ninth session, he made his power and political wisdom felt. It was in this Congress that Mr. Blaine came into contact with Hon. Roscoe Conkling, the brilliant meteor that rose in New York and flashed its splendor over both halls of legislation.

It was toward the close of the war when drafting had caused disorder in many parts of the country, and every State and constituency wanted to be credited, right or wrong, with as many men as possible. James B. Fry was Provost Marshal General under Secretary Stanton. He was understood to be a citizen of Maine—possibly from Blaine's own district. Conkling took Fry to task for not having given due credit to the State of New York in the matter of troops. Blaine defended the gentleman, and Conkling, impatient then as now of opposition, fell on him expecting to crush him. He met his match, however. From that wordy contest he retired in disorder with an epithet ringing in his ears which he can never forget, much less forgive. The two men were bitter enemies from that time forth. Mr. Blaine made many speeches during the period of reconstruction, which attracted a great deal of attention and spread his fame as an orator. In the Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses he was elected Speaker of the House by the Republicans. It has been said that no man since Clay, presided with such absolute familiarity with the rules of the House. His knowledge of parliamentary law was instinctive and complete, and his administration of it so fair that both sides of the House applauded his impartiality. He managed that most turbulent of all legislative bodies with an iron hand.

CHAPTER IX.

Upon his return to Congress in 1866, Mr. Blaine bore a conspicuous part in the legislation on measures of reconstruction. Early in January of that year he introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee and afterwards made the basis of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution regulating the matter of Congressional Representation. Previous to this resolution it had been the tendency to base representation directly on the voting population; but this was entirely changed by the adoption of the amendment as before stated.

Mr. Blaine also made himself prominent in the Reconstruction legislation by proposing what is known as the "Blaine Amendment" to Mr. Stevens' Military Bill.

In 1867 Mr. Pendleton proposed a measure looking towards paying the National debt in Greenbacks, and advocated his bill with such vigor and specious argument that many conversions to his theory of justice in the premises were made. It was the incentive which led to the organization of the Greenback party, and but for the wonderfully able speech which Mr. Blaine made in opposition to the spirit and effect of such a policy there is reason to believe that it would have prevailed.

Mr. Pendleton's scheme had in it much that commended its purpose to the people; it promised a speedy discharge of all the war debts by a mere issuance of paper money from the National printing press, and vested the right of so doing upon the assertion that greenbacks saved the country and

our own people were compelled to take them as legal tenders. Mr. Blaine not only saw the sophistry of this argument, but his great grasp of thought at once conceived the reasoning that would overwhelm it. In December of 1867, therefore, he made a speech in opposition to the Pendleton theory, which not only defeated the scheme, but established a financial doctrine that has been adhered to by the Republican party ever since. In closing that famous speech Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

“The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Chairman, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper money. It lies in the opposite direction; and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression, if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make these already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars. When that result shall be accomplished, we can proceed to pay our fifties either in coin or paper, for one would be the equivalent of the other. But to proceed deliberately on a scheme of depreciating our legal tenders, and then pressing the holders of government bonds to accept them in payment, would resemble in point of honor the policy of a merchant, who, with abundant resources and prosperous business, should devise a plan for throwing discredit on his own notes with the view of having them bought up at a discount ruinous to the holders and immensely profitable to his own knavish pocket. This comparison may faintly illustrate the wrongfulness of the policy, but not its consummate folly; for in the case of the government, unlike the merchant, the

stern necessity would recur of making good in the end, by the payment of hard coin, all the discount that might be gained by the temporary substitution of paper?

“Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, toward the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof a new series of bonds which can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money markets of the world that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country.”

CHAPTER X.

At the opening of the XLI Congress the Republican caucus nominated Mr. Blaine for speaker, by acclamation, and he was elected by a vote of 136 to 57 cast for his opponent, Mr. Kerr. So well did he perform the exacting duties of the office that he was re-elected, without opposition, Speaker of the XLII and XLIII Congresses. In that position his quickness of perception, decision of manner, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, as well as impartial and judicial mind, aided by a clear voice and magnetic presence, made him the greatest presiding officer since Clay.

The political reaction of 1874 returned a Democratic majority to the House and so disconcerted the Republicans that but for Mr. Blaine's great leadership there might have been serious consequences to the party. The decided majority which, for the first time since the war, gave the Democrats any real power or patronage, emboldened them to a radical policy and gage of battle. Mr. Blaine, like a plumed knight, indeed, threw down his glove and accepted the challenge in the name of universal liberty and of the loyal North. Who so well prepared for the joist as he? Into the arena he flung himself like a gladiator knowing nothing of defeat; upon his bright armour fell only harmless thrusts, while he hurled at those who threatened legislation hostile to public interests, thunderbolts of such arguments as scattered his foes and reversed political opinion again.

In debate no man of the day can measure arms with Mr. Blaine, his knowledge is so comprehensive, his language so

eloquent, his argument so convincing and his person so magnetic. As a gentleman long in public life, and familiar with all our great men since 1840, once wrote:

“ Mr. Blaine is a man of wonderful talents, so general, extending to every branch of human knowledge, that few can comprehend his greatness. He is armed for every encounter and apparently unassailable; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there are apparently no joints to his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota, what new policy Mexico means to adopt, on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall, who is chairman of the School Committee in Kennebeck, what is the best way of managing the public debt, together with all other interests of to-day, which any other person would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his seat. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger ends. He is clear metal. His features are cast in a mould; his attitudes are those of a bronze figure; his voice clinks; and, as you know, he has ideas fixed as brass.”

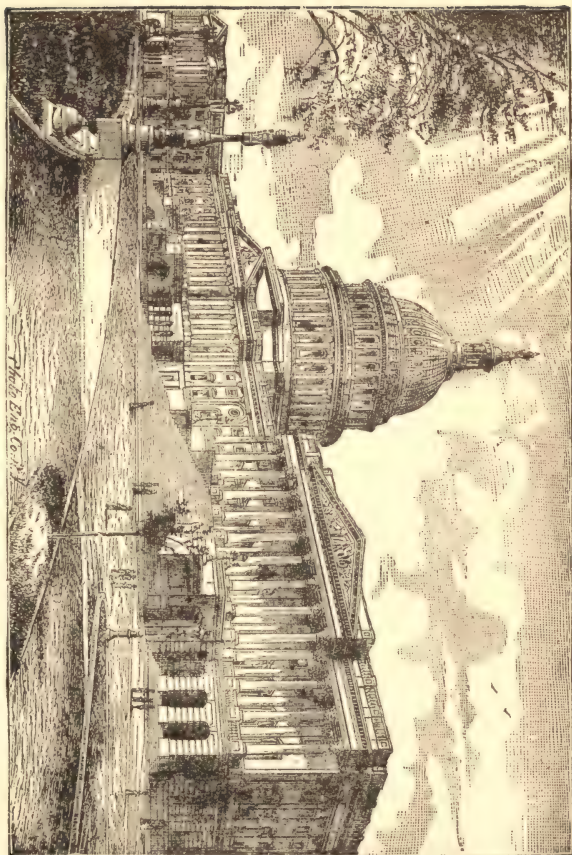
Mr. Blaine was appointed by the Governor of Maine, July 10, 1876, to be United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Morrill, who then became Secretary of the Treasury. He was subsequently elected for the unexpired term and for the ensuing term expiring in 1883. On his appointment he wrote to the people of his Congressional District a farewell address, in which he said:

“ Beginning with 1862 you have by continuous elections sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally

honored. It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

Commenting upon his elevation to the Upper House, *The Kennebeck Journal*, well representing the sentiment of the public in the State, said:

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting through the advantage they had already gained to grasp the supreme power in the nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For



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what he has done as their Representative in Congress, never will this III^d District of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky.”

CHAPTER XI.

As a Senator, Mr. Blaine was even more conspicuous than as a Congressman; he at once took his rightful position among the leading debaters of that body, and before two years of his term had been served he was recognized as the leader of the Senate; not only was he a political leader but his wisdom for conceiving great measures was exemplified by his introduction and advocacy of so many meritorious bills.

The prohibition of further Chinese immigration was proposed by Representatives of the Pacific coast, and a bill was introduced with that intention. Mr. Blaine gave much thought to the measure, studying the Chinese question from a purely public policy standpoint; he was not unmindful of the inconsistent features of a bill that discriminated against a certain class of foreigners who sought an asylum in our heaven-blest country. Those who were ignorant of the vicious influences which emanate from unrestricted intercourse between large numbers of Chinese and our poorer population, regarded the measure as unjust, and when Mr. Blaine raised his voice in favor of Chinese exclusion from our shores he was called a demagogue. His deep study of the question led him to speak freely and with justice to our people, against the iniquity of inviting to our shores a race that is steeped in beastiality, degraded in every feature of their religious and civil life, and whose customs menace the freedom and happiness of our laboring classes. In thus championing the bill Mr. Blaine showed that he was an American, loving American customs and jealous of the

moral and political liberties of our people. His arguments prevailed despite the malicious cries of less informed opponents, and the measure was adopted.

Let it also be said, and repeated, that Mr. Blaine voted against the Electoral Commission, which, though it was a Republican plan looking to the success of the party in a doubtful election, had in it the elements of injustice and the possibility of fraud; he therefore virtuously opposed it, and is entitled to the thanks of every patriot for so doing. He also opposed the Bland Silver Bill in a speech of great eloquence and power, and demanded the coinage of an honest silver dollar.

The question of a restoration of our carrying trade upon the high seas also received his earnest attention, and his recommendations upon this matter again showed the patriotism of his American spirit. So ably did he advocate a liberal policy towards American shipping, that he was invited to address the New York Chamber of Commerce, and accepting, delivered one of the most powerful speeches that was ever listened to by a commercial body. It was published in nearly all the trade journals and commented on largely by foreign papers; the principles enunciated in that address are now applied by all advocates of free bottoms, and are leading to advanced measures for encouraging ship building in America, as well as construction of American vessels abroad.

Mr. Blaine's sagacity, coolness and wisdom as a party leader were conspicuously demonstrated in the measures he took to circumvent the Democratic plot for stealing the State government of Maine in 1879, by fraudulently counting out Republican members of the Legislature. All the advantages, save that of being in the right, were with his

opponements at the start. His supporters were eager to resort to arms as the only means of obtaining justice, but they were restrained by him. His plan was first to arouse public sentiment by exposing the enormity of the plot, next to tangle up his antagonists in a web of contradictions, and then, after obtaining the judgment of the Supreme Court, to seize and hold the legislative halls. It was completely successful, and the conspiracy became impotent and ridiculous.

CHAPTER XII.

The able manner in which Mr. Blaine conducted himself as leader and legislator endeared him to the people until he has everywhere been hailed as a second Henry Clay. Politicians oppose him because he is so far the superior of them all; on every field he has fought as the people's champion, not only regardful of public interest in advocating beneficent measures, but he has been an able and indispensable counsellor whose advice has ever tended to promote the welfare of his party and of the masses.

When the traditions of Republican government demanded a successor to President Grant in 1876, the voice of millions cried out vociferously for James G. Blaine; it swelled up into one grand, popular chorus that swept every State where Republican instincts and aspirations were fostered. Had the constitution permitted an election of President by popular vote Mr. Blaine would have undoubtedly been carried into the executive chair on an irresistible wave of immense majority. Submitting his claims to a convention, however, in which the elements were so mixed up that popular voice was wholly ignored, Mr. Blaine was sacrificed for base interests, which will never be forgotten, giving birth to an administration that was emasculated by selfish greed and indecision.

The candidates opposed to Mr. Blaine in the convention were Oliver P. Morton, B. H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, John F. Hartranft and Rutherford B. Hayes. When Mr. Blaine was placed in nomination by that wizard of eloquence, that

incomparably great orator, Robert G. Ingersoll, whose words flashed out with meteoric splendor, the very country cheered with delight and enthusiasm, fondly anticipating that their great leader would carry his principles and wisdom into the White House. But it was not destined to be so. On the first ballot Mr. Blaine received 291 votes of the total 755, and gradually gained until the seventh ballot, when there were cast for him 351 votes, or within 27 votes of a majority. The politicians, embittered against him for reasons already explained, then seeing that the man of brains and energy would certainly receive the nomination unless they could form a combination, schemed until their purpose was accomplished, and R. B. Hayes became the nominee. The people were worse than disappointed, they were chagrined, and could not give their support to the ticket with that hearty good will which had characterized their loyalty in other campaigns. The drums were beaten, but they were muffled; the fifes echoed in the march, but the notes trembled and failed to cheer; there was the tread of campaign clubs, but the ranks were quiet and the men did not wave their hats and banners like heroes marching to victory.

But that gallant patriot, the generous American, did not skulk into his tent and lie down to dreams of conquest; he did not tell the story of his defeat and invite compassion, or with spiteful cast of thought secretly pray that his loss might be compensated by Republican defeat. But, "like a plumed knight, like an armed warrior," he bore the flag of his party into the fray and fought with valor and powerful energy for his triumphant rival. Who ever heard that Jim Blaine bolted a nomination? Satisfied with the wisdom of many, though opposing his own judgment, Mr. Blaine has ever been a soldier in the ranks; wherever duty called him he responded,

never with reluctant, school-boy questioning, but with quick step and brave heart, trusting to his conception of the right for approval. Mr. Blaine gave his earnest support to Hayes and Wheeler, and I can say without fear of contradiction, that but for this support a Democratic President would have been inaugurated. The doubtful character of that election was not because the Democratic ranks had been recruited, but because so many Republicans refused to vote lest it might be construed as an approval of the means employed to prevent the nomination of Mr. Blaine.

CHAPTER XIII.

In 1880 it became necessary for the Republicans to again choose their National standard bearers. The party had maintained its strength despite the fickle, vascilating policy which characterized the administration. Mr. Hayes had vetoed one of the most important measures that had passed Congress since the war, the substitution of three and one-half per cent bonds for those then outstanding bearing four and five per cent. It was a great mistake, not of the Republican party, but of the President, yet the party as a whole was compelled to bear the odium. People of the North met together at corners, in public stores, or by the way-side, and discussed the situation. They were nearly all for Blaine, but the shameful swindle in 1876, at Cincinnati, caused them to doubt; they asked of one another, how can the people's voice be heard when there is so much clamor from the politicians? Nevertheless, swelling the demand until it sounded louder than before, the people cried, "give us Blaine." The cohorts of the various candidates assembled in Chicago with Grant and Blaine in the front. There was no question as to whom the people wanted, for the popular demand was unmistakably for Blaine, but the third term idea reared its head for the first time in American history, and with such pertinacity that its supporters could not be induced to waver in their adherence to Grant. This was the introduction of an unknown quantity into the convention which had to be represented by a "dark horse." The balloting lasted for

two days, and developed great excitement. Grant's supporters stood steadfast and on the thirty-sixth, the last ballot, gave him 306 votes. Blaine started with 284, and his vote varied but little, reaching 285 on the thirteenth and fourteenth ballots. Mr. Garfield had but one vote on the first ballot, but gradually gained until on the thirty-sixth, when seeing that their favorite could not win, the Blaine strength was cast for Garfield, the first break occurring in the Wisconsin delegation.

Although again defeated in his laudable ambition, Mr. Blaine accepted the nomination of Garfield as a wise selection, and threw all his energies into the campaign to secure his election. He had been an intimate friend of Garfield's for twenty years, the greater portion of which time they had spent together in the halls of legislation. There were mutual confidences between them and Mr. Blaine was really rejoiced at the triumph of his friend.

Every one recalls the spirit of the campaign of 1880; the drums beat with merry rattle and fifes thrilled the footsteps of parading men; the graduate of the tow-path with life so romantic because it had been such a hard and disadvantageous one, enthused the country anew. Every soldier fell into the ranks again and flung to the wind the emblem of his hopes and party preference; on those banners were the names of Garfield and Arthur. Mr. Blaine took the stump with the same enthusiasm which characterized his support of Fremont, Lincoln and Grant. The hills of Maine to the valley of the Mississippi re-echoed with his appeals and stirring speeches. Indiana needed this great Ajax, Ohio cried to him, "come over into Macedonia and help us," Pennsylvania begged for his services, New York sent appeals for his sturdy strength, and so each doubtful State felt the need of his effective aid.

To all these requests he responded, giving his whole time, day and night, with brief hours only for tired nature to restore herself. His influence and eloquence were felt by listening thousands who sat charmed and convinced by the Republican principles which he expounded.

When election day arrived, old and young patriots fell into rank and swelled the vote for Garfield. State after State dropped into line until there was secured again, for the sixth succession, the principles and policy of Republicanism.

CHAPTER XIV.

When in November of 1880—after the election—General Garfield decided upon a visit to Washington, Mr. Blaine was in Bangor, Me., where he received a note from General Garfield appointing an interview in Washington about November 24. He reached the capital on the 26th, and on the afternoon of that day he called upon the President elect at the latter's private residence. For two hours they were closeted without interruption from a single person. At this conference General Garfield, without reservation, tendered the State Department to Mr. Blaine. When Mr. Blaine had recovered from his surprise, he replied: "General, I was hardly prepared for this tender on your part. I do not know how to reply. I would like some time for reflection and consultation, and in the meantime I will advise you." General Garfield then and there urged Mr. Blaine to accept, but he made no binding answer at the time. Subsequently Mr. Blaine had a conference with his closest friends, and the weight of their testimony was that he should accept the place. Said he: "Gentlemen, I am inclined to accept General Garfield's offer; but meanwhile I will for a very short period still further hold it under advisement." After this conference with his friends, the fact that General Garfield had offered the Senator the portfolio of State was communicated to one or two of Senator Blaine's confidential friends, and he said: "If the sentiment of the country indorses the selection General Garfield has made, I will accept the office, otherwise not." Early in

December the announcement was made in one or two newspapers, directly and absolutely, that Senator Blaine had been invited by General Garfield to take the State Department. It soon became accepted as a fact. The universal expression of newspaper opinion was that the selection was a good one. Thereupon Senator Blaine wrote the following letter of acceptance:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1880.

MY DEAR GARFIELD: Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor, and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the government.

I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extending feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be freely, and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should

be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

To that most desirous consummation I feel, that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair, that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment, in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

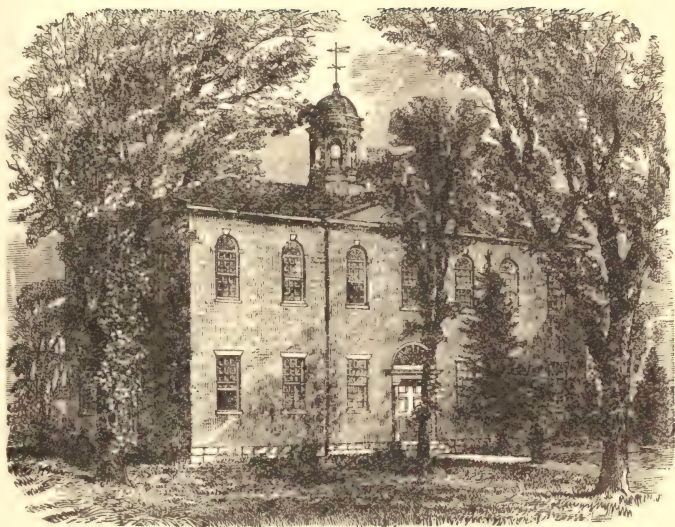
It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER XV.

As a diplomate, though with less than one year in which to exhibit his rare talents, owing to the assassination of his chief, Mr. Blaine has few if any superiors. This short term of service, in the position of Secretary of State, proved quite sufficient to show with what precision and ability he could cope with questions of international polity. Directly after his induction into that office he outlined a foreign policy which had for its object, primarily, the convocation of a Peace Congress, succeeding in which he hoped to secure such action as would prevent future wars in North and South America, and cultivate friendly relations with those countries which, by right, ought to be large consumers of our products.

As an expounder of the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Blaine was consistent without conservatism, firm without a semblance of autocracy. He was at all times an American, and justly forbade any intervention, by either action or suggestion, of foreign powers. In his inaugural address President Garfield declared that it was "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests." This policy had already received the approval of Congress, and as Secretary, Mr. Blaine made it plainly understood that he would vigorously uphold it. Only a short time previous to President Garfield's enunciation of this doctrine, the United States of Columbia had submitted a proposal to all European Powers to join in guaranteeing the neutrality of



WESTERN MILITARY ACADEMY, BLUE LICK SPRINGS, KY.

THE
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the Panama Canal. This action led Secretary Blaine to advise the President to notify those powers that the United States had secured exclusive rights in the canal from the country through which it was intended to be cut, and negotiations for any guarantees appertaining to its construction would have to be made with this country.

As the United States had made, in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject, Secretary Blaine supplemented his memorandum to the powers by a formal proposal for the abrogation of all provisions of that convention, which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges covenanted for in the compact with the Colombian Republic. In this State paper, the most elaborate of the series receiving his signature as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine contended that the operation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty practically conceded to Great Britain the control of any canal which might be constructed in the isthmus, as that power was required by its insular position and colonial possessions to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States could not compete. As the American Government had bound itself by its engagements in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty not to fight in the isthmus, nor to fortify the mouths of any waterway that might be constructed, the Secretary argued that if any struggle for the control of the canal were to arise, England would have an advantage at the outset which would prove decisive. "The Treaty," he remarked, "commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy." The logic of this paper was unanswerable from an American point of view. If the

Monroe Doctrine be anything more than a tradition, the control of the Panama Canal must not be allowed to pass out of American hands; and since the country having the most powerful navy is the real guardian of the freedom of an interoceanic canal under any system of international guarantees, or in the absence of treaty law, the Panama Canal, as Mr. Blaine said, under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, would be surrendered, if not in form, yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

Mr. Blaine's South American policy for establishing peace in the distracted governments of Chili and Peru was masterly, and deserved experiment. Even the conclusion of war between the two did not bring peace, and arbitrament was still necessary.

The war between Chili and Peru had virtually ended with the capture of Lima on January 17, 1881. Pierola, the President, had succeeded in rallying a few followers in the north, and Calderon, assuming the provisional Presidency, had convoked a Congress in the vicinity of Lima. The State Department made strenuous exertions to bring about the conclusion of an early peace between Chili and the two prostrate States which had been crushed in war. The influence of the government was brought to bear upon victorious Chili in the interest of peace and magnanimity; but owing to an unfortunate misapprehension of Mr. Blaine's instructions, the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace. Special envoys were accordingly sent to South America, accredited to the three governments, with general instructions which should enable them to bring those belligerent powers into friendly relations. These envoys were Mr. Trescot and Mr. Walker Blaine, and their mission was to perform a most delicate and important diplomatic duty in

the interest of peace. After they had set out from New York, Mr. Blaine resigned, and Mr. Frelinghuysen reversed the diplomatic policy with such precipitate haste that the envoys, on arriving at their destination, were informed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that their instructions had been countermanded and that their mission was an idle farce. By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of the United States Government on the South American coast was reduced to so low a point as to become insignificant. Mr. Blaine's policy had been at once strong and pacific. It was followed by a period of no-policy which enabled Chili to make a conqueror's terms with the conquered and to seize as much territory as pleased its rapacious generals.

The most conspicuous act of Mr. Blaine's administration of the State Department was his invitation to the Peace Congress. This plan had been decided upon before the assassination of President Garfield. The proposition was to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington, on March 15, 1882. The representatives of all the minor governments on this continent were to agree, if possible, upon some comprehensive plan for averting war by means of arbitration, and for resisting the intrigues of European diplomacy. Invitations were sent on November 22, with the limitations and restrictions originally designed. Mr. Frelinghuysen lost no time in undermining this diplomatic Congress, and the meeting never took place. It cannot be doubted that the proposed Congress would have had a most important effect not only in promoting the ends of peace, but in stimulating American trade with the Spanish-American States. It was a brilliant conception—a most useful project.

Mr. Blaine has described the Congress as "an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. In no event could harm have resulted in the assembly of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. Garfield's administration, short as it was, did not escape the turbulent animosities of implacable politicians. The defeat of Grant, in his ambition for a third term, was accepted with extreme reluctance by that wing of the Republican party which called themselves "Stalwarts." In fact they smarted and bred a rancor that could not long remain suppressed. Mr. Conkling was the leader of the Stalwarts, a leader that shouted "to the front" with gusto, and who hung on to his purposes with remarkable tenacity. He believed firmly in his ability to nominate Grant, and had there not been such hostility to the third term idea, no one doubts but that he would have accomplished that object. Mr. Conkling had, and has, in him all the elements of a great man; he is a master of passionate eloquence and is the soul of energy; besides he is a man of much personal magnetism and was evidently born for leadership. The one fault of Mr. Conkling's is that he exceeds the bounds of persistency by refusing to accept defeat, or the logic of accomplished result, when that result opposes his aspirations.

When Grant's phalanx of 306 was charged and overridden at Chicago the stricken few rose, red in the face and demanded a sacrifice. When Garfield entered upon his discharge of the executive duties, Mr. Conkling sought occasion for disturbing the promise of his administration. This feeling was directed not so much against President Garfield as it was against Mr. Blaine, whose rebuke of Mr.

Conkling in the Thirty-ninth Congress had not been forgotten and whose offense had been aggravated by his action in defeating the nomination of Grant.

Opportunity for giving vent to Mr. Conkling's wrath was not long wanting. Judge Robertson had been warmly recommended for appointment as collector of the port of New York; his record was without a blemish, his ability was unquestioned and he was popular throughout the State. Why should he not receive the appointment? No reason appearing, President Garfield issued a commission to Judge Robertson, and then followed a long fight in the Senate over his confirmation. The "Stalwarts" claimed that such an appointment, without first receiving the approval of Mr. Conkling, was an insult to the New York Senators, for which *Mr. Blaine was responsible*. But why should Mr. Blaine be held accountable? Because he had opposed General Grant in the convention, and his antagonism to the "Stalwarts" was therefore taken for granted. Whether this was a mere pretext for Mr. Conkling making war against Judge Robertson I will let the impartial reader decide. But that the action thus taken as preliminary to the organization of a faction that should oppose the Administration was inconsistent, to say the least, goes without argument.

In the fight which was carried on in the Senate, Mr. Blaine, very properly, dutifully in fact, took sides with Mr. Garfield, while strange as it appears, remarkable indeed Vice-President Arthur espoused the cause of the "Stalwarts," an action unprecedented in American history. The confirmation of Judge Robertson was delayed for several weeks, while the bitterness of the two factions continually increased and extended until it drew into action the entire Republican party, which had now divided into "Stalwarts"

and, as that faction derisively called their opponents, "Half-breeds." But the latter triumphed and Judge Robertson entered upon his duty as collector.

Unable to accept defeat, Mr. Conkling resigned his seat in the United States Senate, followed by Senator Platt, hoping and believing that their action would be commended, and that their course in opposing the Administration would be ratified by their re-election to the Senate, as Senators were to be elected at the next session of the New York Legislature. But the implacable foes of Blaine were neither commended by resolution nor vindicated by re-election, for both Senators Conkling and Platt were defeated in their aspirations.

In this political fight Mr. Blaine bore himself with dignity and prudence, never appearing intrusive, but performed only his duty. He did not exult, either, in his triumph, but stood ready to act for the best interests of the party. These dictated that some line of action should be adopted looking towards conciliation, and to this end Mr. Blaine made it plainly understood that he bore no animosities towards any Republican, and stood ready to grasp any hand that might be offered across the gulf of past political differences.

But this spirit of peace was not encouraged by the "Stalwarts," who not only refused to treat for peace but continued to foment discord, until they aroused a hatred that culminated in the assassination of President Garfield. In justice, however, let it be said for the honor of American citizenship, that no party or people more earnestly deplored the result or were more horrified by the crime than the "Stalwarts." Mr. Conkling, and his adherents, no doubt believed that he was justified in demanding the right of consultation, at least, in the distribution of government

patronage in New York. President Garfield and Mr. Blaine conceded this right but maintained that the position of collector of a port of such national importance as New York, concerning, in its direct transactions, all the States, was in no sense a State appointment, and therefore not within the purview of that authority which Mr. Conkling relied upon.

CHAPTER XVII.

We have now followed Mr. Blaine in his career as a boy, teacher, editor, statesman and diplomat; let us now search his heart for the man of sympathies and gentle feelings. The attachment existing for twenty years or more between Blaine and Garfield must have been uncommonly strong, indeed almost sacred. When one became President and the other Secretary of State, a common responsibility of vast personal and political importance drew them still nearer together; there were mutual confidences as well as mutual friendships; they measured each other's aims and capacities for grave duties, and there was no doubting between them. When, on the 2d day of July, 1881, President Garfield, with happy heart and joyous anticipation, accompanied by his old friend and tried counsellor, set out for the Balt. & Pot. R. R. Depot, in Washington City, there were merry jokes flying between them, and the sensuous air stirred again under the delightful humor which emanated from each. President Garfield was starting for New England, upon an invitation to renew the happy associations which once clustered around his *Alma Mater*, Williams College; his old classmates were there waiting for him, anxious to take his hand again and talk over their school boy days rather than to hail him as the chief of our proud and no less mighty country. Rejoicing in these memories and anticipations, our President had invited his best friend to bear him company to the depot. In such delightful spirit the two companions arrived

soon at the depot and made hasty preparations for departure; the train stood ready, with noisy blasts of escaping energy, as if impatient at restraint, and grumbling at delay. The two friends now make their way towards the platform, both in high glee, one friend rejoicing at the other's holiday. Suddenly a pistol shot pierces the noisy bustle, followed sharply by another, and as Mr. Blaine turns, his shocked sight beholds the stricken form of President Garfield, shot from behind by a crazed villain whose crime could never be fully expiated, though with life renewed he were hung a thousand times.

Then followed those long months of patient suffering, the continual upholding of hope, the one fighting chance against a hundred. Patience herself never taught a more perfect lesson of resignation than did our martyr President, through all that dreadful season of heat and ever ebbing vitality. Who will forget the daily bulletins which indicated the rising and falling pulse, and who can forget how James G. Blaine ministered to his best friend, sat by the couch and suffered with poignant sympathy as he saw how closely the waiting angel of death hovered around it, with rustling wings and extended arms asking "shall I claim him." It was during these tender watches one day, that the suffering victim of that cursed assassin, in the cottage at Elberon, when his life had nearly wasted, summoned up all his strength and placing his arms about Mr. Blaine's neck, wept as he spoke, "How I love you." It was too much for the man who could move listening senates to command, whose heart throbbed with courage in the hour of bristling danger; too much for a hero, too grievous for a friend; that great orator, that defender of America's sacred honor, and lover of his friend, bowed down under a burden

of sorrow which all the consolments of blissful emergence through the furnace of suffering could not ease. Seeing with what oppression his assurance of continued love had borne down upon his old friend's heart, the dying President, in cheerful, chiding tone, remarked: "My dear fellow, it is not time for that yet."

Unable to repress the feelings which were struggling for mastery, as he looked upon the fading though hopeful life of brave Garfield, Mr. Blaine made excuse for immediately leaving the bedside, and retiring to his own room gave vent to the tears which he could no longer restrain. Thus day after day went by, sometimes with hope blossoming in the morning, blooming at noon and then withering again at eventide. A nation stood waiting for those hourly bulletins indicating the Presidents' condition, and Mr. Blaine stood at the couch to catch every pulse beat, to watch the heaving breast, the changing eye, and give them at regular intermissions to the world. He was nurse to his friend, and yet called to a practical administration of the executive duties.

At last, on the 13th of September, the weak, exhausted Garfield closed his eyes and rested forever, the pulse, so feeble before, died so gradually that it scarce gave index to the approach of death, and the pallid face had long before borne the ashen impress of the destroying angel. When the news flashed to every compass that our President had fallen into eternal sleep, the very world seemed to bow its head in grief. Mr. Blaine mingled with the sorrow of a nation's loss the grief of a loving friend.

CHAPTER XVIII.

When the funeral rites were completed ; when the body of our martyr President had been laid away on the green hillside overlooking the beautiful lake Erie, and the solemn thousands who paid their tribute of respect at his tomb returned to their homes, it was the pleasure of Congress to request that a worthy eulogy be delivered on the character of James A. Garfield in the halls where his long and distinguished services had made him so conspicuous ; an eulogy in which might be enshrined for history the glorious deeds and examples of his life, commemorative of his exaltation from the humblest position in life to that proud eminence for which Nature's God seemed to specially qualify him.

Who so well fitted to discharge the duty, on behalf of the nation, as James G. Blaine ? The people of every State said "that is the man," the counselor, colleague and intimate friend ; the man who had sounded all the depths of Garfield's life, hopes and ambitions ; who applauded his success and sorrowed at his bedside. For these reasons Mr. Blaine was chosen, and when the day arrived for the delivery of that eulogy, Washington City was fairly filled with persons who had come from all parts of the Nation to hear what they had every reason for believing would be a great oration.

The Lower House of Congress, in which the eulogy was spoken, was appropriately draped, and when Mr. Blaine appeared at the Speaker's desk there was neither a vacant seat or standing room, so dense was the audience, while thousands stood in the halls unable to gain admission. Those who

were so fortunate as to be within hearing of Mr. Blaine's voice on that occasion can never forget the effect which his most eloquent effort produced. The eulogy was quite lengthy, occupying six columns of space in the large metropolitan papers, though at no time was the speaker tiresome, but on the contrary he fairly electrified that vast concourse of people and acquitted himself with the most distinguished honor, worthy of his fame and subject. The conclusion of Mr. Blaine's eulogy will take permanent place among the brilliant passages of the world's greatest orators. It is as follows:

“On the morning of Saturday, July 2d, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyful, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that, after four months of trial, his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his *Alma Mater* to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

“Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident

in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

“Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of the world’s interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood’s friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears, the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his, the little boys not yet emerged from childhood’s day of frolic, the fair young daughter, the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father’s love and care, and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation’s love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine press alone. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin’s bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

“As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the

wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or die as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within the sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great wave breaking on a further shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning."

CHAPTER XIX.

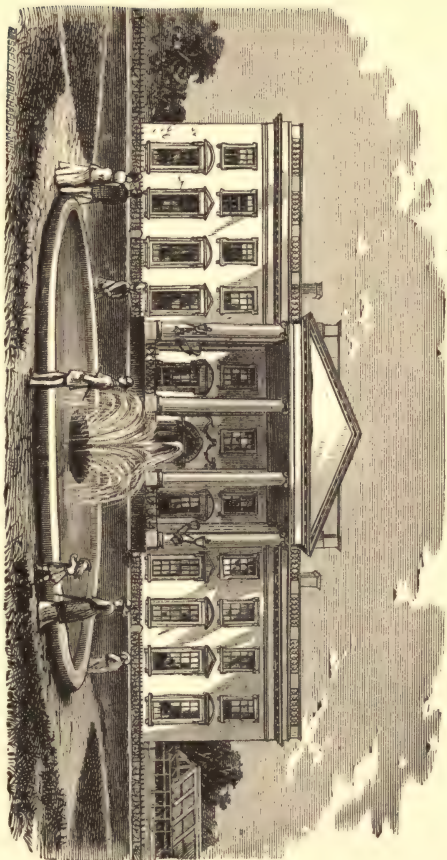
THE CONVENTION.

There have been Presidential Conventions held in this country more exciting, by reason of more bitter animosities, than the Republican assembling of 1884; but viewed with regard to the general interest in times of peace, the convention which discharged its duties with the nominations of BLAINE and LOGAN must ever remain memorable.

In this connection, a reference to the origin of, and the chief interest in, the several conventions under our political system of government, will be read with much interest.

Presidential nominations were formerly made in Congressional and Legislative caucuses, somewhat as elections to the Senate are now made, but in 1831 our present system was adopted, having its creation in a factional fight between Masons and the active opponents of that secret organization. In order to accomplish their purposes more effectually, the latter had recourse to the people at large, and, therefore, issued a call from Philadelphia for a National Convention to meet in Baltimore, in 1831, at which assembling William Wirt, of Maryland, was nominated for President, and Amos Ellwaker received the second honor. Prior to this—the stimulating cause of the convention—nearly all chief legislative officers, from the election of Washington, had been Masons, and, therefore, the impress of that lodge, through brotherhood obligations, was conspicuous in nearly all the governmental appointments. The National Republicans,

WHITE HOUSE—EAST FRONT.



TO MRU
AIRPORT

however, quickly perceiving the popularity of such a movement with the masses, also called a convention, and put forward Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania. That no advantage might be lost, the Democrats adopted the same tactics, and nominated Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, at Baltimore.

In 1835 the Democrats held their convention again in the same city, and adopted what has since been known as the "two-thirds" or "unit" rule, by which each delegate was compelled to vote according to the wishes of two-thirds of his delegation. It was the operation of this rule that gave Van Buren the unanimous nomination in this convention, while Richard M. Johnson was chosen Vice-President. The Whig party was at this time in a formative state, but was too weak in organization to make any considerable struggle; it, therefore, held no National Convention, but a few enthusiasts, nevertheless, assembled at Harrisburg and put forward Gen. W. H. Harrison and Francis Granger. This Whig ticket became a strong opposition, however, by reason of its endorsement by the Democratic Anti-Masons in National Convention, and by several State Conventions, and a most exciting and doubtful campaign followed, resulting, however, in the election of Van Buren.

In December, 1839, the Whigs again nominated Harrison, with John Tyler for Vice-President, and in the year following the Democrats put forward Van Buren again, with R. M. Johnson. The campaign of 1840 was one ever to be remembered, not for bitter animosities, fortunately, but for wonderful political interest centering in deep, personal attachments. Mr. Van Buren's administration had been unfortunate, not because of any mistakes of his own, but

because the four years chanced to be replete with momentous disturbances. In 1837 great financial distress seized the country, and in New York city alone, during the months of March and April, there were failures amounting to over \$200,000,000. So serious did the panic become that an extra session of Congress was called in September to devise relief. In addition to the panic, there was a very bitter feeling manifesting itself between the slave-holders and abolitionists, which culminated Nov. 7, 1837, in a riot at Alton, Illinois, in which many persons were killed and the entire nation intensely excited. In 1839 another financial panic was precipitated, and bankers throughout the country, to save themselves, were compelled to suspend payments.

These national disturbances very materially strengthened the Whigs, particularly with Harrison as their leader, as he was then carrying prestige of great honors won by his victory over Tecumseh, on the Tippecanoe. The Democratic Convention, which met at Baltimore and nominated Van Buren, drafted the first elaborate platform that any political party ever put before the people. Campaign songs also came into vogue this year, and they very greatly assisted to arouse enthusiasm among the masses. The "Log Cabin" and "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840 will always remain a stirring memory to those who participated in it, and will never cease to interest readers of political history.

It may also be added that in this year the Abolition party first effected an organization, and nominated James G. Birney, of New York, and Francis J. Lemoyne for its standard bearers.

On May 1st, 1844, the National Whig Convention met at Baltimore, and nominated, by acclamation, Henry Clay for President, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey,

for Vice-President. On the 27th of the same month, in the same city, the Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and Silas Wright, of New York. Mr. Wright declined the honor, and Geo. M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was put in his stead.

Until 1844, all the conventions had been held one year or more prior to the election, on account of the length of time required to reach all points of the country, there being no telegraph, and practically no railroads, to facilitate communication. In this year, however, just four hundred years after Guettenberg and Faust had invented the printing press and types, a line of telegraph, purely experimental, was established between Baltimore and Washington. This proving successful, rapid progress was made towards increasing communications, and the time between conventions and elections became shorter and shorter.

The next National Convention of the Whigs was held in Philadelphia, 1848, at which Gen. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, crowned with laurel leaves gathered on the bloody fields of Mexico, was nominated for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, was selected for the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats, whose assembling was again at Baltimore, put forward Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky.

There was a split in the Democratic party, one faction of which, known as the "Free Soil," but called by the "Straight Outs" "Barn Burners," met at Buffalo and nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. This faction adopted as a campaign motto, "Free soil, free speech, free labor and free men."

In the conventions of 1852 there was great excitement and hard fighting. The Whigs met in Baltimore, and after

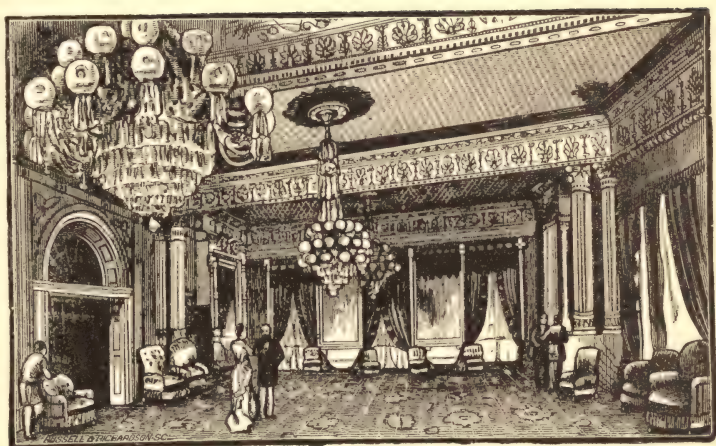
balloting fifty-three times selected Gen. Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The Democrats held their convention two weeks previously, in the same city, and on the forty-ninth ballot chose Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and William R. King, of Alabama. The "Free Soil" Democrats assembled at Pittsburg and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana.

The Republican party, which really grew out of the Abolition nucleus of 1839 rather than the Whig party, though there was an amalgamation, held its first convention June 17th, 1856, in Philadelphia, and nominated John C. Fremont, of California, and Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American Nationals, or "Know-Nothings," had assembled in the same city in February preceding, and put forward Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donaldson, of Tennessee. The Democrats met in Cincinnati June 2d, and nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky. There was also a Whig Convention, composed of defectionists, held at Baltimore, in September, at which Edward Bates, afterwards Lincoln's Attorney-General, presided. The number of delegates was so small, as was also their influence, that the convention contented itself with an endorsement of Fillmore and Donaldson.

1860.

LINCOLN AND HAMLIN.

The Republicans, though unsuccessful in the campaign of 1856, effected a most thorough organization, particularly in Illinois, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln. The senatorial contest between Lincoln and Douglass, in



THE WHITE HOUSE—EAST ROOM.

TO MRS.

1880-1882

1858, served to establish the principles of the party in several adjacent States, and the movement grew with great rapidity. In 1860 the Republicans held their second National Convention in Chicago, on May 16th.

The call, signed by E. D. Morgan, Chairman, under which delegates were chosen, was addressed to Republicans, and "to all others who are opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States; to the reopening of the African slave trade," and so on. George Ashman, of Massachusetts, was made Chairman, and was escorted forward by Preston King and Carl Schurz. A great picture of Abraham Lincoln was one of the hall decorations.

The first sensational feature came on the second day, over the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, moved to exclude Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, the District of Columbia, Kansas and Nebraska, on the ground that there was no Republican organization in those States, and that the delegations had been brought there by Southern influence.

This was bitterly opposed by Ewing, of Pennsylvania, and others.

The report of the committee was recommitted by a vote of $275\frac{1}{2}$ to $172\frac{1}{2}$, and when made again was adopted, the Southern delegations being admitted.

The latter part of the second day was devoted to the platform, which was adopted section by section. It took the ground in regard to slavery which the call foreshadowed. The tariff resolution was particularly applauded, first by Pennsylvania and some of the New England States, then by

the whole convention. When the Chairman declared the whole platform adopted, the vast assemblage arose and cheered for several minutes.

On the third day came the nominations. Gen. Nye presented Wm. H. Seward for President; Mr. Judd named Abraham Lincoln; New Jersey offered W. L. Dayton; Mr. Carter nominated Salmon P. Chase; Mr. Blair spoke for Edward Bates, and Tom Corwin for John McLean. The strength of the convention was 465, making 233 necessary for a choice. Two ballots resulted as follows:

	First ballot.	Second ballot.
Seward.....	173½	184½
Lincoln.....	102	181
Bates.....	48	39
Cameron.....	50½	8
Chase.....	49	2½
Dayton.....	24	10
Clay.....	1
McLean.....	12
Wade.....	5
Fremont	1
Collamer.....	10
Reid.....	1
Sumner.....	1

The first ballot encouraged the friends of Seward so much that they demanded a second. New Hampshire was the first to break for Lincoln, giving him 2 more votes than on the first ballot. Vermont and other New England States followed, giving Lincoln a gain of 17. Pennsylvania, fearful of Seward, and seeing Lincoln's chances were the best of the other candidates, gave him a solid vote. The second ballot showed a gain of 79 for Lincoln and of 11 for Seward. The New Yorkers, however, were still confident, and pressed for a third ballot, but were disappointed by Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky going almost

solidly for Lincoln. He lacked only $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes of the nomination when the call was finished, and before the result was announced Ohio had changed 4 to him. B. Gratz Brown then gave "Missouri's 18 votes for that gallant son of the West, Abraham Lincoln." Other changes were made, and the vote as announced gave Lincoln 354 out of the 465. Mr. Evarts, of New York, moved to make Lincoln's nomination unanimous, and it was done. Some of the New York delegates were in tears when references were made to Seward. They attributed their leader's defeat chiefly to Horace Greeley.

Hannibal Hamlin, Cassius M. Clay and N. P. Banks were presented for Vice-President. The first ballot stood: Hamlin, 194; Clay, $101\frac{1}{2}$; Banks, $38\frac{1}{2}$. The second ballot gave Hamlin 367 and the nomination.

During the consideration of the platform, Mr. Giddings attempted to have introduced the clause from the Declaration of Independence, guaranteeing "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Failing, he attempted to leave the convention, but was detained by the New York delegates. Subsequently, George William Curtis secured the introduction of the substance of Mr. Giddings' amendment.

Among the representatives of Missouri in the convention were Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, both of whom were afterwards on Democratic tickets for the Vice-Presidency.

THE DEMOCRATIC SPLIT AT CHARLESTON.

The Democratic Convention was called to order April 23d, 1860, at Charleston, S. C. At the outset New York and Illinois delegations were excluded from the Committee on Credentials. The State first mentioned was represented by

two sets, one headed by Dean Richmond, the other by Fernando Wood. One was called the "hard," the other the "soft shell" delegation.

On the second day Francis B. Flourney, of Arkansas, was made Chairman. There was a heated debate between Richardson, of Pennsylvania, and Josiah Randall. The latter volunteered a remark that there were delegates present who were going to misrepresent their constituents by voting for Douglas. Richardson referred to Randall as a new recruit in the Democratic ranks.

The unit rule was lost by a vote of 101 ayes to 198 nays.

The third day was one of sensational features. The Southern delegates held a meeting and decided, "That unless there is a resolution inserted in the platform to protect the rights of the South in the Territories, they will secede in a body from the convention."

Governor Robinson, Chairman of the Vermont delegation, dropped dead from apoplexy.

The following was read in the convention, having "an electrical effect," according to one correspondent:

BATTLE GROUND OF SAN JACINTO, TEX., May 21st.

The people assembled here *en masse* have at this time and place nominated Sam. Houston the people's candidate for President, in the November election, and a strong electoral ticket. The platform is the Constitution and the Union. Down with all sectional issues! A. M. GENTRY.

The Douglas delegates from Illinois, and the Dean Richmond delegates from New York, were given their seats.

The fourth day was characterized by an avalanche of resolutions on the slavery issue, the Southern members insisting on indorsement of slavery in one form and another.

In striking contrast with the action on the tariff at the Chicago Convention, was the following:

A resolution on the tariff being presented, Capt. Isaiah Rynders proposed to include Monongahela whisky in the articles to be protected.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, hoped the convention would not be made to appear ridiculous before the country by these resolutions, and moved that they be referred without reading.

Capt. Rynders said he desired by his amendment to put a stop to them, and he had succeeded.

The fifth and several days following were consumed in a debate upon the platform. Ben. Butler, and Payne, of Ohio, made minority reports, which they supported in speeches, but both were voted down. The running reports of the proceedings contain passages like the following:

A voice cried out: "Mr. President, a mistake. I didn't second that man's motion down there."

Mr. Gettings rose to demand an explanation. He would like to know who it was who spoke so disrespectfully of him.

Mr. Hooper rose. He did not intend anything disrespectful to the gentleman, but his name was Tom Hooper, of Alabama.

Mr. Gettings: "If no insult was intended, the gentleman will call at my room and take a drink."

At length, on the 1st of May, the Southern States, failing to secure their slavery plank, refused to vote on the platform, and nine States withdrew. The resolutions adopted reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform of four years previous, and condoned the Dred Scott decision. They declared the Democratic party pledged to constitutional rights of property, of whatever kind, in the Territories, and to the enforcement of the decisions of the Supreme Court. They

sustained the rights of all citizens to settle in the Territories, without their rights of person or property being impaired by Congress or Territorial legislation.

On the opening ballot for the Presidential nomination, Douglas received $145\frac{1}{2}$ votes; Guthrie $36\frac{1}{2}$; Dickinson 7; Lane 6; Hunter 42. New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota voted almost solidly for Douglas. Fifty-seven ballots were taken, Douglas getting as high as $151\frac{1}{2}$ votes. It required 201 to nominate. On the 3d of May adjournment was taken to Baltimore, June 18th.

The Southern delegates, who withdrew from the convention, organized. Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, and Mr. Yancey were prominent in encouraging them to hold out. Just before the secession, Mr. Bayard said he did not regret the influence that overruled principle in the National Convention so much as the spirit of Black Republicanism. It was a struggle for power and plunder—the corruptions and bargains of a general scramble for office. Mr. Bayard was very severe on the New York delegates, who came there, he said, professing a desire to join in such a nomination as would suit the South, but as soon as they had secured their seats, turned their backs on the South. He trusted that other States would withdraw from the convention, and that it would be utterly dissolved. This body adjourned, to meet in Richmond, Va.

When the convention reassembled in Baltimore, several days were spent in wrangling over the admission of delegates. Gen. Clark, of Missouri, tried to reopen the debate on the platform, by proposing the following, as calculated to heal the breach:

That the citizens of the several States of the Union have an equal right to settle and remain in the Territories of the United States, and hold therein, unmolested by any legislation whatever, their slaves and other property, this convention recognizing the opinion of the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, as a true exposition of the Constitution.

There were numerous encounters. Whitely and Townsend, of Delaware, had a collision. The Keystone Club, of Philadelphia, had a bloody engagement with a Baltimore crowd. The fourth day the flooring of the orchestra gave way, and the musicians tumbled over among the delegates. There was a panic, and one very heavy delegate jumped out of a window.

Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, and Josiah Randall had some harsh words in the midst of debate. After the adjournment, Robert Randall took up the matter in his father's interest, and had a street fight with Montgomery. The questions precipitating these encounters were usually trifling ones, but were magnified by the intense feeling prevailing.

On the 23d of June, the convention having been unable to come to any terms of compromise with the seceders, Mr. Cushing surrendered the Chairmanship and withdrew. A second session took place. Douglas was nominated on the second ballot, receiving $181\frac{1}{2}$ votes out of the $212\frac{1}{2}$ left in the convention.

Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was nominated for Vice-President.

The seceders, at Baltimore, met on the 23d of June, Mr. Cushing presiding, and nominated John C. Breckenridge for President and Joe Lane for Vice-President. Mr. Breckenridge received 81 out of the 105 votes in the gathering.

On the 26th of June, the seceders at Charleston, who had been waiting to see what would be done at Baltimore, met

at Richmond and indorsed the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane, adopting the slaveholders' platform as it had been presented at Charleston. The principal plank in that platform was this :

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons or property on the high seas, in the Territories, or wherever the Constitution's jurisdiction extends."

John J. Crittenden called the Union Constitutional Convention to order at Baltimore, May 7th, 1860. Twenty-six States were represented. Worthington Hunt was made Permanent Chairman. Parson Brownlow, Judge Sharkey, Leslie Coombs and Erastus Brooks were prominent members, the last named warmly urging the nomination of Sam. Houston, on the platform: "The Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws." John Bell was nominated for President on the second ballot. The first call of the roll scattered the delegates as follows: Houston 57; Bell 68½; Everett, 25; McLean 22; Graham 22; Sharkey 6; Crittenden 28; Goggin 3; Botts 9½; Rives 3.

Mr. Switzler, of Missouri, nominated Mr. Everett for Vice-President, and the vote was unanimous.

1864.

LINCOLN'S RE-NOMINATION.

The National Union Convention of 1864 met at Baltimore, June 7, being called to order by E. D. Morgan. William Dennison, of Ohio, was made permanent Chairman. A speech by Parson Brownlow was one of the earlier features.

The platform denounced slavery, and approved the determination of the Government not to compromise with rebels.

The adoption of a resolution disposed of the nomination for the Presidency in this style:

“Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln be declared the unanimous choice of the Union party as its nominee for President of the United States.”

A ballot was taken and Lincoln received every vote, save Missouri's twenty-two, which were cast for Grant.

For the Vice-Presidency, Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, Hannibal Hamlin and L. H. Rousseau were named, and the first mentioned nominated.

A convention of Germans, Radicals and war Democrats was held at Cleveland, May 30, 1864. John Cochrane, of New York, was made permanent Chairman.

The platform declared that the rebellion had destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

John C. Fremont was nominated by acclamation for President, and Gen. Cochrane for Vice-President.

The purpose of this gathering was to head off, if possible, the re-nomination of Lincoln. Its callers were loud in their denunciation of the “imbecile and vacillating policy” of the Administration, and demanded prompt measures to “rescue the imperiled nationality, and the cause of impartial, universal freedom, threatened with betrayal and overthrow.” Cluseret, the French communist, was one of the signers of the call.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago, August 30, 1864. A day was spent in preliminaries and in listening to a speech from Valandigham. On the second day Horatio Seymour was made Chairman. The names of George B. McClellan and Thomas H. Seymour were presented for the Presidential nomination, when Mr. Harris, of Maryland,

getting the floor, said: "One man nominated here is a tyrant." [cheers and hisses.] "He it was who first initiated the policy by which your rights and liberties were stricken down. That man is George B. McClellan." [Confusion.] "Maryland, which has suffered so much at the hands of that man, will not submit, in silence, to his nomination. His offenses shall be made known."

Harris proceeded to read Gen. McClellan's order to Gen. Banks, directing him to arrest the Legislature of Maryland. He was asked what paper he was reading from. He answered: "Are Gen. McClellan's friends afraid of the truth?" He said he would bring all of the charges against Gen. McClellan that had been brought against Gen. Butler. This caused tremendous excitement. There was a storm of hisses, and cries of, "You are for Jeff. Davis!" "You are a traitor!"

Harris went on to show that McClellan made the arrest on purely political grounds. He should have resigned before he did those things. The speaker instanced the story of Louis XIII, of France, who ordered an officer to assassinate the great Prince Conde. The officer answered: "Sire, you have soldiers in the French army, but no assassins." "Now," said Mr. Harris, "you ask me to go for the man who consented to be an assassin for Abraham Lincoln. I will not vote for Lincoln's assassin, if he is nominated in this convention."

As Harris walked down the aisle, a delegate called him a d—d traitor, and was knocked down.

Morgan, of Ohio, defended McClellan, and said the Legislature of Maryland at the time were inviting the rebel army to invade their State.

When the fight was hottest, W. W. O'Brien, of Illinois, jumped up and nominated Governor Seymour, of New York. There was uproarious cheering and cries of "Seymour is the man." Had the peace men followed up the advantage, they could have nominated Seymour then, but an adjournment was taken before a ballot.

On the morning of the third day Horatio Seymour, whose name had been presented, as well as Thomas H. Seymour, refused to let any votes be cast for him. McClellan received the nomination on the first call of the roll. His vote was 202½; that of Seymour, 25½.

George H. Pendleton was nominated for Vice-President, on the second ballot. His competitors were James Guthrie, D. W. Voorhees, George W. Cass, August Dodge, J. D. Catron, Governor Powell and John S. Phelps.

Vallandigham, the idol of the peace element, after the nomination of McClellan, arose and said his heart was for peace in the convention, in order that they might have it in the land, and he would, therefore, move that the nomination of McClellan be made unanimous.

John McKeon, in seconding Vallandigham's motion, said that if Lincoln was elected there would be a bloody revolution over the whole North.

Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, followed in a similar speech. He said he could not approve McClellan's action in Maryland, and he believed he regretted it more than any other act of his life. It was a youthful indiscretion, however, which they must forget and forgive.

Ex-Senator Allen said the first thing McClellan would do would be to open all the bastiles of the country and destroy all the instruments of blood and torture.

Mr. Bogy, of Missouri, said his first choice was Governor Seymour, of New York, but he acquiesced in the nomination of McClellan. Missouri was a subjugated, conquered and divided people. They suffered from both armies. Kentucky and Missouri would unite and drive the invaders from their soil.

1868.

GRANT AND COLFAX.

Carl Schurz was temporary Chairman of the National Convention of "the Union Republican party," which met at Chicago, May 20th, 1868, and nominated Grant and Colfax. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, was the permanent Chairman. His concluding words, on taking his place, were these:

"It is related, and whether true or not, the incident is well invented, that on one evening of that awful battle of the Wilderness, where legions of the Union army had fought all day, by faith rather than by sight, in tangled brush, some man asked Gen. Grant to fall back and organize, and he replied: 'We have done very well, gentlemen; at half past three o'clock in the morning we move forward.' [Long continued cheering.] We accept his spirit and his words. Perhaps I am not anticipating in saying we shall accept him in form as our leader." [Loud cheering.]

Mr. Conway, of Louisiana: "I suppose it is a part of the settled policy of the Republican party of to-day, to have the South come into this convention Union end foremost [laughter]; but we have another marked event of moment, that there is with us to-day, in full part and full fellowship, one of the former Governors, in the days of rebellion, of one

of the rebellious States, who has since become reconstructed [applause], and has proved himself in fire true as steel, a genuine Republican. I move that Ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia, be invited to say a few words." [Tremendous applause.]

Governor Brown spoke for half an hour, being interrupted by frequent cheers, telling how he had grown up under Calhoun's teachings as a secessionist, but had accepted the results of the war and the acts of reconstruction.

On the second day Gen. John M. Palmer, of Illinois, was called to the platform, and the convention rose and cheered as he came forward. He referred at once to the impeachment proceedings, and said that Andrew Johnson stood in the way of the safety of the country and ought to be removed. There was great cheering. When somebody asked, "What about Trumbull?" General Palmer replied, "We propose to leave such men to a tribunal which cannot be corrupted." Again the convention rang with cheers.

The notable planks in the platform were the second resolution on suffrage, the third on repudiation, the seventh on corruption, and the eighth on the impeachment. The last was the most enthusiastically received.

The convention then proceeded to nominate a President, and the name of Grant was offered by Gen. Logan, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. While the convention stood cheering a dove, colored in stripes of red, white and blue, was let loose by a lady and flew about the hall. The band played, "Hail to the Chief," and the building shook with the shouts.

As the States, one after another, cast solid votes for Grant, they were cheered by the multitude. Connecticut unconditionally surrendered her twelve votes; Georgia,

through Governor Brown, brought down the house with a well-put announcement of eighteen votes, from men some of whom were original secessionists. Mississippi, repudiating the traitor Davis, voted for the patriot. Missouri, demanding Grant on a radical platform, declared her desire satisfied; South Carolina, the home of Calhoun, with 40,000 Republican majority, joined heart and hand with Massachusetts, and Tennessee pledged herself never again to propose such a traitor as Johnson. The vote closed; every delegate for Grant, and the convention gave itself up to cheering and singing for half an hour. Schuyler Colfax was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

SEYMOUR AND BLAIR.

The Democratic National Convention of 1868 was called to order by August Belmont, in New York, on the 4th of July, with Henry M. Palmer, of Wisconsin, as temporary Chairman. The first enthusiastic applause was when the Chairman referred to the presence of delegations from all the States. After a hard struggle, a motion to adjourn until Monday, the 6th, was carried. On the second day Horatio Seymour was made permanent Chairman, amid great applause. A resolution from the National Labor Association, favoring the Pendleton-Greenback plan, evoked enthusiasm among the Western delegates. Susan B. Anthony's letter on suffrage was received with loud laughter and referred to the Platform Committee. A resolution indorsing Andrew Johnson's course was received rather tamely, but the tribute to Chase, for his course in regard to the impeachment trial, was cheered again and again. An attempt was made to proceed with nominations before the platform was adopted, but was defeated after considerable

skirmishing. A speech was delivered by Gen. Tom Ewing, and then the convention tried to get out Wade Hampton, but he refused to leave his seat.

On the third day the platform was taken up. The demand that the public debt, unless otherwise stipulated on its face, should be paid in lawful money, was received with applause, so were the declarations, "Equal taxation on property, including Government bonds," and "One currency for all," and the demand for the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The first and sixth ballots on the nomination for the Presidency resulted:

	First.	Sixth.
Pendleton.....	100	122½
Hancock.....	33½	47
Johnson.....	65	21
English.....	16	6
Hendricks.....	2½	30
Reverdy Johnson.....	8½
Doolittle.....	13	12
Parker.....	13	13
Packer.....	23	27
Blair.....	½	5
Church.....	33	33

Necessary for a choice, 212.

Adjournment was taken until the next day, when ten more ballots were taken. On the twelfth ballot Chase's name was sprung amid an uproar of cheers and hisses, but there was no stampede. Indiana, at the opening of the day's proceedings, changed from Pendleton to Hendricks. Virginia, Mississippi, Maryland and Alabama came over to Pendleton. Other Southern States followed, until his vote reached 157. Then New York suddenly dropped Church, and cast her 33 votes for Hendricks. Pendleton's vote was growing with every announcement, and but for this sudden action of New York, would have received the requisite majority on another ballot or two. From the eighth ballot his strength failed. On the eighteenth ballot, the last taken

that day, the vote stood: Hancock, $144\frac{1}{2}$; Pendleton, $53\frac{1}{2}$; Hendricks, 87; Parker, $31\frac{1}{2}$; Doolittle, 12; Andrew Johnson, 10; Chase, $\frac{1}{2}$; Hoffman, 3.

The next day, on the convention assembling, a letter from Pendleton was read, withdrawing his name. Three more ballots were taken, the final one showing: Hendricks, 137; Hancock, $135\frac{1}{2}$; English, 18; Field, 8; McClellan, $\frac{1}{2}$; T. H. Seymour, $21\frac{1}{2}$; Doolittle, 12; Chase, 4; Hoffman, $\frac{1}{2}$.

McCook, of Ohio, nominated Horatio Seymour. The Chairman rose, and after thanking Ohio and praising Pendleton, he raised his hand, and looking upward, said that if he should accept their nomination he would be a dishonored man. Concluding, he said: "Gentlemen, I thank you, and may God bless you for your kindness to me, but your candidate I can not be."

Vallandigham got the floor and declared that public safety demanded Seymour's nomination, and Ohio's vote should stand for him. When he closed his impassioned speech the work was done. The States changed, one after another, until Seymour's nomination was made unanimous.

Governor Haight, of California, Gen. John A. McClermand, Gen. Thomas Ewing and Gen. Frank P. Blair were presented for the Vice-Presidency. The Southern States endorsed Blair, and he was nominated.

1872.

GRANT FOR A SECOND TERM.

Two days, June 5 and 6, sufficed for the work of re-nominating President Grant at Philadelphia, in 1872. He received, on the first ballot, 752 votes, which constituted the entire vote of all the States and Territories. Senator

Wilson was nominated for Vice-President by changes immediately after the first ballot, on which he received $364\frac{1}{2}$ votes. The other candidates were Schuyler Colfax, $321\frac{1}{2}$; John F. Lewis, 22; Edmund J. Davis, 16; Horace Maynard, 26; Joseph R. Hawley, 1; E. F. Noyes, 1. The nomination was made unanimous. Hon. Thomas Settle was Chairman of the convention. The proceedings were devoid of sensational scenes. Gen. Grant's name was presented by Shelby M. Cullom, and the nomination was seconded by Stewart L. Woodford, of New York.

It was in pursuance of a call of the Liberal Republican State Convention of Missouri, that the National Liberal Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, May 1, 2 and 3, 1872. On the opening ballot Charles Francis Adams received 205 votes; Lyman Trumbull, 110; David Davis, $92\frac{1}{2}$; Horace Greeley, 147; B. Gratz Brown, 95. On the sixth ballot Greeley received 482 votes; Adams, 187.

The vote for Vice-President stood on the first ballot: Brown, 237; Trumbull, 158; Julian, $134\frac{1}{2}$; Walker, $84\frac{1}{2}$; Tipton, 8; Cox, 25; Clay, 34; Scovel, 12. On the second ballot Brown received 435 votes, and his nomination was made unanimous.

This convention issued an address to the people of the United States, arraigning the Administration for corruption, and charging that the passions of war had been kept alive for personal advantage. A civil-service, anti-land grant, specie-payment platform was adopted. Gen. Burnett, of Cincinnati, referred to it as, "the second Declaration of Independence."

The tariff plank provoked a warm discussion, in which Stanley Matthews, who had been the temporary Chairman, used this language: "I will tell you one of the reasons why

I entered into this movement. It was that I might assist in the work of emancipating the politics and the business of the country from the domination of rings. I mean political rings in Washington; I mean railroad rings, which are stealing our public lands, and I mean pig-iron rings, which are robbing the people, and which, under the pretense of relieving the burdens of the people, are taking taxes off from tea and coffee in order that they may keep them up on salt and iron."

After much discussion and several stormy scenes, the tariff was disposed of as follows: "Recognizing the existence in our midst of honest, but irreconcilable, differences of opinion upon the merits of the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation."

Carl Schurz was permanent Chairman. Just at the close of the first ballot, when B. Gratz Brown had received ninety-two votes, he got up from his seat among the Missouri delegates and ascended the platform, forcing Schurz to recognize him. After speaking of the votes he had received he said: "We want a man nominated who will carry the largest Republican vote in this nation, in defiance of the regular Grant organization, and that man, in my judgment, is Horace Greeley, of New York."

Schurz and the Missouri delegation retired, and the former made his associates a speech in which he said the convention would make a fatal error in taking up Greeley.

Horace White was Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Theodore Tilton of the Committee on Rules.

GREELEY AND THE DEMOCRATS.

The National Democratic Convention at Baltimore spread its proceedings over two days, July 9 and 10, 1872, but it was a tame affair. On the first ballot Horace Greeley was nominated, receiving 686 votes. Bayard of Delaware got 15; Jeremiah S. Black, 21; William S. Groesbeck, 2. Eight votes were blank.

On the first ballot B. Gratz Brown was nominated for Vice-President, receiving 713 votes. John W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, received 6, and 13 were blank.

James R. Doolittle was Chairman of the convention. The platform of the Cincinnati convention was adopted without the change of a word, but not until Senator Bayard had made a speech vigorously opposing "the adoption of the language of a platform made by other men not of the same political faith with the convention."

The attempt to make Greeley's nomination unanimous was negatived by Delaware and some Southern delegates.

1876.

HAYES AND WHEELER.

The assemblage which met at Cincinnati June 14, 1876, was called as "The Union Republican National Convention," and the same signature appeared as in the political summons for the convention which nominated Lincoln at Chicago in 1860—E. D. Morgan. Much of the time of the opening day was taken up with speeches from John A. Logan, Joseph R. Hawley, Edward F. Noyes and others. Edward McPherson was made permanent Chairman.

The resolutions, commencing with the famous sentence, "The United States of America is a Nation, not a league," were adopted the second day.

The following names were presented for the Presidential nomination: Marshal Jewell, Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin H. Bristow, James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, Rutherford B. Hayes, John D. Hartranft.

On the third day the balloting resulted as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
Hayes.....	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
Blaine.....	285	296	253	292	286	308	351
Morton.....	125	120	113	108	95	85	21
Bristow.....	113	114	121	126	114	111	
Conkling.....	99	93	90	84	82	81	
Hartranft.....	51	63	68	71	69	59	
Jewell.....	11						

Necessary for a choice, 379.

On the motion of Mr. Frye, of Maine, Mr. Hayes' nomination was made unanimous.

William A. Wheeler, Stewart L. Woodford, Marshall Jewell, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and Joseph R. Hawley, were presented for the Vice-Presidency, but before the first roll-call was completed it became evident that Wheeler had a majority, and his nomination was made unanimous.

TILDEN AND HENDRICKS.

The National Democratic Convention in 1876 was called to order in St. Louis, June 27. A permanent organization was effected the opening day, with Gen. John A. McClelland as Chairman. On the second day some time was given to speeches by William P. Breckenridge, B. Gratz Brown, William A. Wallace, James R. Doolittle and others. Then the "Réform" platform was adopted, as reported by Lieutenant Governor Dorsheimer, of New York.

But two ballots were taken to determine the nomination for President:

	First.	Second.
Samuel J. Tilden.....	417	535
Thomas A. Hendricks.....	140	60
Winfield S. Hancock.....	75	59

William Allen.....	56	54
Thomas F. Bayard.....	33	11
Allen G. Thurman.....	—	7
Joel Parker.....	18	18
	<hr/> 739	<hr/> 744

The morning of the fourth day a brief session was held, and Thomas A. Hendricks was nominated for Vice-President.

After this convention the two-thirds rule was dropped.

A Greenback-Labor Convention was held at Indianapolis, with representatives from all the States, at which the late Peter Cooper, of New York, the millionaire philanthropist, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, were nominated by a unanimous vote. Although the ticket did not carry a single State, its popular vote was 83,561.

1880.

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR.

The "National Convention of the Republican party," as it was designated by Chairman Cameron in the call, met at Chicago, June 2, 1880. On the second day Mr. Hoar was made permanent Chairman. The 4th of June was taken up in passing upon the contests. The issue was between delegates chosen by the State Conventions and delegates elected at the Congressional District Conventions. Illinois led off with half a dozen such contests. Two reports were made by the Committee on Credentials. The majority favored the district selections as the legitimate delegates. The minority indorsed the work of the State Convention. It was Grant or anti-Grant. Illinois Republicans had, as a State Convention, selected a Grant delegation. Several of the districts had held Conventions and had chosen anti-Grant

representatives. A test vote adopted the majority report as it related to the first district by 384 to 356. The ballots on the other contests, which were based upon a similar issue, did not vary much from this. The convention put itself squarely upon record as favoring the plan of district representation, although it had been the custom in Illinois and some other States to have the work done for the whole State by the convention.

June 5, James A. Garfield reported the rules and Edwards Pierrepont the platform. The following names were presented: Ulysses S. Grant by Roscoe Conkling; Elihu B. Washburne by Mr. Cassady, of Wisconsin; James G. Blaine by Mr. Joy, of Michigan; Wm. Windom by Mr. Drake, of Minnesota; John Sherman by James A. Garfield; George F. Edmunds by Mr. Billings, of Vermont.

Balloting commenced on Monday, June 7, and twenty-eight ballots were taken that day. On Tuesday eight more were taken, and a nomination was made on the thirty-sixth. The first two and last three ballots were as follows:

	1st.	2d.	34th.	35th.	36th.
Garfield.....	—	1	17	250	399
Grant.....	304	305	312	313	306
Blaine.....	284	282	275	57	42
Sherman.....	93	94	107	99	3
Washburne.....	31	31	30	23	5
Edmunds.....	34	32	11	11	..
Windom.....	10	10	4	3	..

Necessary for a choice, 378.

When the thirty-sixth ballot was announced, Mr. Conkling moved that the nomination of Gen. Garfield be made unanimous, adding: "I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate the Republican party of the United States upon the good nature and the well-tempered rivalry which has distinguished this animated contest. I trust the zeal,

the fervor and now the unanimity seen in this great assemblage will be transplanted to the field of the final conflict, and that all of us who have borne a part against each other will be found with equal zeal bearing the banner—with equal zeal carrying the lance of the Republican party into the ranks of the enemy.”

For the Vice-Presidency the names of Elihu B. Washburne, Marshall Jewell, Thomas Settle, Horace Maynard, B. K. Bruce, Chester A. Arthur and Edmund J. Davis were presented. The call of the States gave Arthur, 468; Washburne, 193; Jewell, 44; Maynard, 30; Bruce, 8; Alcorn, 4; Davis, 2; Settle, 1; Woodford, 1.

The nomination was made unanimous and the convention adjourned the evening of June 8.

HANCOCK AND ENGLISH.

The Democratic National Convention of 1880 met in Cincinnati June 22, and was called to order by William H. Barnum. The Temporary Chairman was the present Governor Hoadly, of Ohio. John W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, was Permanent Chairman. Two ballots were taken, the first on the evening of the second day and the other on the morning of the third day, with this result:

	First.	Second.
Winfield S. Hancock.....	171	320
Samuel J. Randall.....	..	128½
Thomas F. Bayard.....	152½	113
Henry B. Payne.....	81	..
Allen G. Thurman.....	68½	50
Stephen J. Field.....	65	65½
William R. Morrison.....	62	..
Thomas A. Hendricks.....	50½	31
Samuel J. Tilden.....	38	6
Horatio Seymour.....	8	..
Scattering.....	31	22

Necessary for a choice, 369.

Before the second ballot was announced changes were

made which gave Hancock 705—all but 2 cast for Bayard, 30 for Hendricks and 1 for Tilden.

Mr. Watterson reported the platform, the features of which were the denunciation of the Electoral Commission's work in seating Hayes, and this reference to Tilden:

“The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.”

William H. English was nominated for Vice-President. The name of Richard M. Bishop was presented, but withdrawn during the ballot.

A Greenback National Convention was held at Chicago June 9, 1880, Richard Trevellick presiding. Among those named for the nomination were James B. Weaver, Hendrick B. Wright, Stephen D. Dillave, Benjamin F. Butler, Solon Chase, Edward P. Allis and Alexander Campbell. Weaver was nominated on the first ballot; B. J. Chambers received the nomination for Vice-President.

The Convention of 1884.

The Republican Convention of 1884, held on the spot made venerable by the birth of the party and the nomination of that sainted sire of freedom, Abraham Lincoln, the

son of toil and man of genius, was an assembly of such importance and incident that its effects will be lastingly felt and remembered for all time. The chief result of which it was productive is seen in the independence of political preferment which it encouraged. Unfortunately, it has heretofore been the rule, under the "unit," or "two-thirds" system, to stifle and override all minorities, and compel delegates to vote for candidates sometimes the most obnoxious to them; more than this, it opened the doors to corruption of the most infamous kind, and made the purchase of nominations possible. The abrogation of such a vicious rule gave to each delegate all the rights of voting for, and aiding, by influence, whomsoever his preferences might choose; in other words, its repeal restored to each delegate the rights which our form of government is supposed to guarantee. In a few districts delegates were instructed as to how they should vote on the first ballot, but a very large majority went to Chicago with no other predilection than to see the best man win, and, therefore, the complexion of the convention, immediately prior to, and even upon its assembling, could scarcely be approximated. [Besides this wholesome feature of the convention, there was extraordinary concern manifested by commercial interests, hundreds of leading business men abandoning their eager pursuits for the time, and hieing to Chicago to lend their influence to the securing of a wise statesman to lead the Republican hosts. Much of this interest developed by reason of the financial panic which seized Wall street in May, which, though temporary, and limited in extent, nevertheless gave the entire country much uneasiness, and created a fear lest the Chicago Convention should conclude its labors with the nomination of an experimentalist, or one wholly untried in statesmanship.

The avowed and reputed candidates were James G. Blaine, of Maine; Chester A. Arthur, present incumbent, of New York; Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; John A. Logan, of Illinois; John Sherman, of Ohio; Geo. F. Edmunds, of Vermont. The "dark horses" mentioned were Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; Benj. Harrison and Judge Gresham, of Indiana, and Gen. Sherman, of Missouri.

Blaine and Arthur were the leading candidates, supposed for a time to be nearly equally popular among the delegates, the error of which, shown on the first ballot, was another proof of the unrestricted freedom of opinion which a repeal of the unit rule gave license to.

The convention, which met in the Exposition building, was called to order by Senator Sabin, of Minnesota, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, at 12:30 o'clock, Tuesday, June 3d. At the conclusion of Senator Sabin's speech, formally opening the convention, and at the request of the National Committee, he proposed Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, as temporary chairman. Contrary to all precedent and courtesy to the committee, Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, arose, and getting the attention of the Chair, moved to substitute the name of John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, and demanded that the roll of States be called on his motion. This action provoked a stormy debate, lasting nearly two hours, but the motion finally prevailed, and the States being called, the vote resulted, Lynch, 431; Clayton, 387, two votes not being cast. Mr. Lynch is a colored man of great ability both as an orator and statesman. He served in Congress with distinction, and is recognized as one of the ablest, if not indeed the ablest, colored man in America, especially as a parliamentarian. The election of Mr. Lynch added to this convention two more features previously



SCENE ON THE MONONGAHELA, NEAR BROWNSVILLE.

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unknown in national assemblages, the first being a disregard of the recommendations made by the National Committee, and the second being the first election to a chairmanship of a National Convention of a colored man.

On the following day, June 4th, the convention met, but adjourned after receiving the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, and learning that the Committee on Credentials would hardly be ready with their report until the following day, Gen. Jno. B. Henderson, of Missouri, was nominated for permanent chairman by the committee, and upon taking his seat, delivered a short speech, in which he paid compliments to all the avowed presidential candidates.

Upon the re-assembling of the convention, June 5th, the Committee on Rules submitted its report, which was followed by a minority report, and upon the motion to adopt there was a lively debate, in which considerable acrimony was developed. The question in issue was upon the apportionment of delegates according to the Republican vote of the several States. The Committee reported the following rule:

Resolved, That in future, Republican National Conventions, represented by delegates, shall be as follows: First, each State shall be entitled to one delegate at large and to two additional delegates at large for each representative at large, if any, elected in such State at the last preceding Congressional election; second, each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates; third, each Congressional district shall be entitled to two delegates.

The minority submitted, as a substitute, the following:

Resolved, That in future Republican National Conventions, representation by delegates shall be as follows: Each State shall be entitled to four delegates at large and one additional delegate at large for each representative at large, if any, elected in such State at the last preceding presidential election.

Second—Each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates at large.

Third—Each congressional district shall be entitled to one delegate and an additional delegate for every 10,000 votes or majority fraction thereof cast for the Republican presidential electors. [Applause.]

Fourth—The Republican National Committee within the year following each presidential election shall ascertain and certify the representation to which each State and district will be hereby entitled in the next National Convention.

A long debate was indulged in by many of the ablest orators in the convention. The two following speeches are examples of the excitement which the question provoked.

Mr. Bradley of Kentucky: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, I must say that I regret that for the first time in the history of this country, a proposition of this sort should be brought before a convention. Such a proposition coming from the Democratic party, might come with some force; but from the great Republican party, which professes love and equality for all the States, I must admit my astonishment. [Applause.] It is well known to this convention that in the South to-day her votes are stifled by fraud and force, and yet you are asked to take this basis which has been adopted by Democratic fraud and force, [loud applause], and make it the basis of Republican representation. If in the South we are to have Democratic fraud and force on one side, and Republican disfranchisement on the other, may God have mercy upon us. [Loud applause.] There have been times in this country when the South served the Republican party. Three hundred thousand of her brave soldiers marched to the battle-field and fought their brothers to save this country. [Applause.] It was Florida in 1876 that gave you a president. [Applause.] It was that gallant, brave hero, Mahone of Virginia, that gave us the United States Senate. [Applause.] I say to you, brethren of the Republican States, beware! beware! The tariff issue is coming before this country, and the time may

come when you will be in the minority, and when in the South we will have in some States a majority, and thus you will fall by the hands of your own slaves. We do not come to this convention to dictate; we come here as free men, not slaves; and while we do not ask to dictate a nomination, we do say that we decline to surrender our manhood and to give up our convictions to suit the opinions of any gentleman, North or South. [Applause.] If the Republican party in the North stood by the South in some instances, as it should have done, we would have been able to give electoral votes to-day. [Applause.] You counted our States for the President in 1876, and you refused to count them for the Governors. As a representative of the South, I am here to speak my mind, and come what will, I would rather die than be false to my section. You ask for such a thing as this at the hands of the Republican party, and my distinguished friend said it was equality. Oh! it is equality—four delegates at large from the State of Rhode Island—gallant little Rhode Island as she is—with only 18,000 Republican voters, and yet you want to cut down the representation in Kentucky to four delegates at large, with an army of 106,000 Republican votes. Gallant little Vermont, with 45,000 Republican votes, has four delegates from the State at large, while Tennessee has only four delegates with a vote of 107,000. Do you call that equality? Is the party of Garfield and the party of Lincoln to give us such equality as this? I say that such a proposition might well come from the Democratic party, but from the grand old Republican party, the party that with the shackles and chains torn from the limbs of trembling bondsmen erected in this country the grandest monument that has ever been known in recorded time to freedom, and underneath the shadow of it 14,000,000 of people sent up anthems of praise, the swelling notes of which were heard throughout the civilized world, [applause]—the Republican party with its grand record of noble achievements, the grandest ever known upon earth, which has been uplifted by the death of its martyred Presidents beyond the stars. If we are to

be disfranchised, let it be done here and now, but remember, my friends, in God's name, that the time may come when the gallows that you have erected may hang some of you. I appeal to the great Northern Republicans; I appeal to the Republican States of this Union; I beg you, do not throw this obstruction in our pathway. Give us justice; spare us your taunts; spare us your frowns; give us your encouragement and aids, as you gave it to other States, and mark my word for it, that West Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and the Old Dominion, in spite of Democratic shot-guns, in spite of legalized murders that cry to God for vengeance, will give you their electoral votes. [Loud continued applause.]

Mr. West, of Ohio: In response to the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Missouri, I would say that I have lived in Kentucky in the days when Henry Clay was her pride and Crittenden her glory. I come to-day from the State of Chase, of Giddings, of Wade and of the illustrious men who, with Garfield, look down upon us from above. Gentlemen, the Republican party has not yet fulfilled its mission. Although it has secured the personal liberty of the bondmen, their political liberty is not yet secured, and, by the grace of God, the Republican party must live until the home of Mahone, of Bradley and of Lynch shall be fully represented according to their strength. [Applause.] Yes, I am ready to raise the standard up; I am ready to incorporate it in our plank, that we will carry on the war until the scenes of Danville and the scenes of Co-piah will be impossible under the flag of my country. Gentlemen, we must not, we dare not, we cannot, and I hope to God the day will never come when I shall be a member of the convention the representation of which shall be determined by the shot-gun and the tissue ballot.

The sentiment of the convention was so overwhelmingly adverse to the minority substitute that Mr. Bishop, of Massachusetts, who had moved its adoption, got the floor, and in the following language withdrew his motion:

It is entirely evident what the sentiment of this convention is. It is not for those of us who have held a different view to say that that sentiment is not right, we bow with entire cheerfulness to the sentiment of the convention, because we wish to have as much earnestness in our feeling for the Republicans of the South as any Republicans in the country. I therefore withdraw the motion made by me. [Applause.]

The report of the committee was adopted, with only two dissenting votes.

The Committee on Resolutions then announced their report, whereupon Mr. McKinley read the platform, as follows:

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficial, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

GARFIELD.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and

peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

ARTHUR.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to, and will receive, the hearty approval of every citizen.

THE TARIFF.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people. We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our laborer to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus revenues. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer and the great producing interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of

the duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

FINANCE.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

COMMERCE.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discriminations and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

LABOR AND EDUCATION.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight hour law and a judicious system of general education by adequate appropriations from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

CONTRACT LABOR.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home

or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

LANDS.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-residents, aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil, with command of Congress for the speedy recovery of land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with the acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

PENSIONS.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of

1877, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of the application.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entanglings with foreign nations; which gives us the right to expect that foreigners shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; the policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the western hemisphere.

THE NAVY.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens in the interest of American commerce, and we call on Congress to remove the burdens which American shipping has been depressed by, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and which takes no law from superior force.

THE TERRITORIES.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the territories therein.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church, and that it should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

WITH A BIG N.

The people of the United States, in this organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a confederacy of States. The national government is supreme in the sphere of its national duty, and the States have a reserved right which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded

with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

FREE BALLOT.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot and honest count and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in the Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all political rights.

Upon motion of Mr. Bush, of California, the platform was unanimously adopted.

After calling the roll of States and announcing the newly elected members of the National Committee, a recess was taken until 7 P. M.

The convention was called to order again at 7:30 and, in pursuance of the regular order of business, nominations of candidates for President were begun.

The name of Joseph R. Hawley was presented by Mr. Brandigee, of Connecticut, in an eloquent speech of half an hour's duration. He was followed by Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, who nominated John A. Logan, speaking with great earnestness and eloquence, and exciting the convention to a wild enthusiasm.

Judge West, "the blind man eloquent," from Ohio, next put in nomination James G. Blaine. Those present can never forget the scenes which followed the first mention of

the man from Maine, by the orator chosen to present the name of Blaine to the convention.

It is with a feeling of national pride that we refer to Webster, Clay, Henry, Douglas, Lincoln and other great orators, excerpts from whose speeches we, as boys, delight in declaiming from the school rostrum, and, as men, stand charmed before the graceful delivery, forgetful, or unappreciative of the eloquent speakers who honor this age. Old times are common events looked at through a field-glass of great magnifying power, while facts of to-day are examined through the same glass inverted, always dwarfing by comparison. We have had many, many great statesmen and brilliant orators, whose merits are best disclosed in the incomparable government which they have builded, sustained and improved. But the day of orators is not yet passed, for we may point to Ingersoll, Conkling, Curtis, West and others yet, and with truth declare them the peers of any who have gone before. Who can match the magnificent, soul-thrilling speech of Robt. G. Ingersoll, placing Blaine in nomination at Cincinnati in 1876; his were words that burn, the magnetizing battery that drew an entire convention after him and made the people everywhere thrill with a very ecstasy. Cataline never moved hearts more thoroughly, or with words charmed the listening ear more rapturously, than did the mighty Ingersoll on that occasion. There are now four speeches, made in as many consecutive Republican National Conventions, that have passed into history and will be read by untold generations with an enthusiasm that infected the very world at their first delivery. They are here reproduced in their order of time and merit, which are strangely enough coincident.

Ingersoll's Great Speech Nominating Blaine.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow ; so am I ; but if any man nominated by this convention can not carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominees of this convention can not carry the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts by 75,000 majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876, a man of intelligence, a man of well known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman ; they demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people ; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. [Applause.]

They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States ; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people ; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world can not redeem a single dollar ; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor ; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it. [Applause.]

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together ; that when they come they will come

hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You can not make it by passing resolutions in a political convention. [Applause.]

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is as spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full, heaped and rounded measure all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past, and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine. [Applause.]

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

This is a grand year—a year filled with recollections of the revolution; filled with the proud and tender memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for a man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous

face of rebellion; for this man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. [Applause.]

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. [Applause.]

James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

Conkling's Greatest Effort.

When asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply shall be,
He hails from Appomattox
And its famous apple tree.

In obedience to instructions which I should never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise, Mr. President, in behalf of the State of New York, to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us is the Austertlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The

supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate popular in the Territories, because the Territories have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the North alone, but also doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understand right, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. The need which urges itself on the conscience and reason of the convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States both North and South. And believing that he more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant.

Never defeated—in peace or in war—his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone by things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done; and perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high born and the titled, but the poor and the lowly, on the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and defects of many systems of government; and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once—its force is spent—and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the republic when those who have tried to tarnish it have moldered in forgotten graves, and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the very genius of common sense.

The views he presented for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophesies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of international disputes which stands the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy.

When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, has swept both houses of Congress, it was the vote of Grant, single and alone, which overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader we shall have no defensive campaign. We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and the arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie, broken and harmless, at his feet.

Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also," he meant that had he the power the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to receive Dennis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness and disorder would always find a foe in

him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequaled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument—the only one—that the art of man or stress of politics has devised, is one which would dumbfound Solomon, because Solomon thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. My countrymen!—what stultification does such a fallacy involve. The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer. And now the same people is asked to ostracise Grant, and not to trust him! Why? Why, I repeat? Because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as civil magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the republic. Is this an electioneering juggle or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility or reason in which natural beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department in human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit.

What makes the presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for *him*. Without patronage, without emissaries, without committees, without bureaus, without telegraph wires running from his house or from the seats of influence to this convention, without appliances, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, Grant's name is on his country's lips. He is struck at by the whole Democratic party, because his nomination

is the deathblow of Democratic success. He is struck at by others, who find an offense and disqualification in the very services he has rendered and the very experience he has gained. Show me a better man. Name one, and I am answered. But do not point, as a disqualification, to the very experience which makes this man fit beyond all others.

There is a "third term" in the case, and the pretense will die with the political dog-days that gendered it. One week after the Democratic Convention we shall have heard the last of this rubbish about a "third term." Nobody now is really disquieted about a third term, except those hopelessly longing for a first term and their dupes and coadjutors. Without effort or intrigue on his part, he is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerrillas who deploy between the lines and forage, now on one side and then on the other. This convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President of the United States. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration.

It can assure a Republican majority in the Senate and House of Representatives. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope and existence is a solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. This convention can overthrow and disintegrate these hurtful forces. It can dissolve and emancipate a distracted "solid South;" it can speed the nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour to behold the Republican party, with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievement, marching to certain and lasting victory, with its greatest marshal at its head.

Garfield's Beautiful Tribute to Sherman.

MR. PRESIDENT: I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character; as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the dullest man; but I remember it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea, from which all heights and depths are measured.

When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured and by which their final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle, where 15,000 men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the republic; but by 4,000,000 of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation

in days gone by, burning in their hearts. There God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want?

A voice: "We want Garfield."

Mr. Garfield. Bear with me a moment. "Hear me for my cause," and for a moment "be silent that you may hear."

Twenty-five years ago this republic was bearing and wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people; the narrowing and disintegrating doctrine of State sovereignty had shackled and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of National Government; and the grasping power of slavery was seizing upon the virgin Territories of the West and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage.

At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every human heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and to save. It entered the arena where the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever. Strengthened by the victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its chief, entered the National Capitol and assumed the high duties of government. The light which shone from its banner illumined its pathway to power. Every slave-pen and the shackle of every slave within the shadow of the Capitol were consumed in the re-kindled fire of freedom.

Our great national industries, by cruel and calculating

neglect, had been prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the Treasury itself was well nigh empty. The money of the people consisted mainly of the wretched notes of 2,000 uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business.

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the Babel of confusion and gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people.

It threw its protecting arms around our great industries, and they stood erect with new life. It filled, with the spirit of true nationality, all the great functions of the government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until the victory was won.

Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the calm words of peace spoken by the conquering nation, saying to the foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge—that you join us in lifting into the serene firmament of the constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice; that all men, white or black, shall be free, and shall stand equal before the law."

Then came the questions of reconstruction, the national debt and the keeping of the public faith.

In the settlement of these questions, the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we accomplish this great work? We can not do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that we should say one word, or cast one shadow upon any name on the role of our heroes. The coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are assailed, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year,

and then "the stars in their courses" will fight for us. The census will bring re-enforcements and continued power. But in order to win victory now we want the vote of every Republican—of every Grant Republican and every anti-Grant Republican in America; of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make success certain. Therefore, I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together and inquire what we shall do. We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces the victorious footsteps of our party in the past, and carrying on his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood, on this supreme condition: that it shall be admitted, forever, that in the war for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of one who was the comrade, advocate and friend of nearly all the noble dead whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night (referring to portraits of Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Chandler and other eminent Americans hanging in the hall); a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago; who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and returning to his seat in the National Legislature, his pathway through all the subsequent years has been marked by labors worthily performed

in every department of legislation. You ask for his monument, I point you to twenty-five years of national statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great armies and navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back "the unity and married calm of States." His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the government and made that currency equal to gold. When at last he passed from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years, with one-half the public press crying "Crucify him" and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success. In all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the vast business interests of the country he guided and preserved while executing the law of resumption, and effected its object without a jar, and against the false prophesies of one-half of the press and of all the Democratic party. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne," but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we honor; but I do present him for your deliberate and favorable consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio. [Long continued applause.]

Judge West's Presentation of Blaine in 1884.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest

service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. [Applause]. Four and twenty years of the grandest history of recorded times has distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party; the skies have lowered and reverses have threatened. Our flag is still there waving above the mansion of the presidency—not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freeman in the North. On it, or to it rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondsmen in the South, [applause] while above from the portals of light is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us hail and God speed. [Applause]. Six times in six campaigns has that banner triumphed, that symbol of union, freedom, humanity and progress. Some times by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms [wild applause]; last by him for whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. [Cheers and applause]. Six times shall that banner triumph again; commit it to the bearing of that chief.—[A voice: "James G. Blaine of Maine." Cheers]. Commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood and rekindle the fervor of the veteran, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise [Cheers]. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and aroused the republic rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and the forces of humanity in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contentions; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead

issues of the past. The arms of the solid South are against us; not an electoral gun can be expected from that section.

If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mine, the workshop and the desk; from the cabin of the trapper on the snowy Sierra, from the hut of the frontiersman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions if triumph comes. Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory? [Cheers]. In this contention of forces, to whose candidate shall be intrusted our battle flag?

Citizens, I am now here, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I abate one tittle from the just fame, integrity and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. [Applause]. I abate not one tittle from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds [Applause], of Joseph A. Hawley [Applause], of John Sherman [Applause], of that grand old "Black Eagle" of Illinois, [here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause], and I am proud to know that these distinguished senators whom I have named have come with like testimony to the public life, the public character and the public integrity of him whose confirmation brought him to the highest office, second in dignity to the office of the President only himself, the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield [Applause]; a man for whom the senators and rivals will vote; the Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for a plain flesh and blood God's people to vote for for president. [Loud applause]. Who shall be our candidate? "Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class—send the great proclamation to the country labeled the doctors' candidate, the lawyers' candidate, the Wall street candidate, and the

hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. [Applause]. Gentlemen, he must be a representative of American manhood [applause]; a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or Pagan China. [Loud applause]. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and enfranchisement of mankind. A representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which under the *sic semper tyrannis* of the whole dominion emulates by slaughter popular majorities in the name of Democracy—a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican is James G. Blaine of Maine.

Upon the mention of the name of Blaine, there arose another shout of applause, which, spreading rapidly, soon developed into a greater, louder, more piercing halloo than followed the call of Maine. The handkerchiefs of the ladies were again waved in unison. The delegates elevated their hats, and it seemed likely for five minutes to be merely a repetition of the preceding uproar. A happy innovation, however, was made. The visitors, who added much to the applause, wrested the flags from the sides of the gallery and waved them the entire length of the hall. A large national flag was also taken by a visitor from the front platform and waved amid tremendous cheering. Subsequently, upon the pole of the flag was placed a helmet exquisitely formed of



NOTICE: THE ABOVE IS A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL DRAWING BY JAMES H. HARRIS, 1876.

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carnations and roses, with a long white plume, which was hoisted from a press table. The helmet was the gift of some young ladies of Chicago. Tremendous acclamations greeted this happy suggestion of the plumed knight of four years ago.

Quiet being restored, after many minutes of wild enthusiasm, the speaker proceeded:

Gentlemen of the convention, it has been averred that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge; every other interest be sacrificed in order and with a view exclusively to securing the Republican vote and carrying the State of New York. [Slight applause from the back seats.] Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the presidency with or without the State of New York [applause]; that will carry the legislatures of the several States, and avert the sacrifice of the United States; that shall sweep into the tide the congressional districts to recover the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party. Three millions of Republicans believe that the man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield—in all that struggle of humanity and progress, wherever humanity desires succor, where love for freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest—there in the forefront of the battle were to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre.

Nominate him and the shouts of September's victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him and the camp-fires and beacon lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the columns of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States and of our glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine of Maine. [Renewed applause.]

The nominations were not completed until after one o'clock in the morning, and yet there was a desire to continue the proceedings until a test vote was made. A wrangle over the number of ballots that should be taken, however, led to an adjournment until the following morning.

Directly after reassembling at seven A. M., June 6th, the balloting began and resulted as follows:

	1st Ballot.	2d Ballot.	3d Ballot.	4th Ballot.
Blaine.....	341½	349	375	544
Arthur.....	278	276	274	207
Logan.....	63½	61	53	7
Edmunds.....	93	85	69	41
Sherman.....	30	28	25	..
Hawley.....	13	13	13	15
Lincoln.....	4	4	8	2
Gen. Sherman.....	2	2	2	..

When the announcement of Blaine's nomination was made, flashing out from a hundred wires that connected in the convention hall, there was a mighty shout of popular accord sent up in every city of America that thundered in unison with the cannons fired to celebrate the event. The convention was turned into pandemonium, so vociferous was the cheering, yelling, waving of bonnets, hats and umbrellas, all glorifying in the victory that had come after three desperately fought battles, in which the people had been arrayed against the politicians. Upon Mr. Plumb's motion, the nomination was made unanimous, and in a few moments afterwards the following telegram was read, which had been sent simultaneously to Mr. Blaine, and to the convention to be read:

TO HON. JAS. G. BLAINE, AUGUSTA, ME.

As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.

C. A. ARTHUR.

This telegram provoked another storm of applause, which did not subside for nearly half an hour. Quiet having at length been restored, on motion, an adjournment was had until 8 P. M.

The convention again coming to order, prayer was offered by Dr. O'Reilly, of Detroit, treasurer of the Irish Land League, the first Catholic that ever officiated clerically in a Republican Convention.

Nominations for Vice President being in order, Senator Plumb, of Kansas, arose, and in a brief but graceful speech nominated Gen. John A. Logan. There being no other candidate proposed, as each State was called some delegate arose to second the nomination, until New York was reached, which gave its vote as sixty for Logan, six for Judge Gresham, of Indiana, and one for Judge Foraker, of Ohio. All the other States voted solidly for Logan, but as several delegates were absent his total vote was only 779. The nomination was then made unanimous, and after the adoption of the usual resolutions of thanks, the great Republican National Convention of 1884 stood adjourned, with banners waving and cannons firing.

CHAPTER XX.

For twenty years, aye, not since the days of Harrison, has the nomination for the Presidency been received with such enthusiasm as that of Blaine and Logan, either by the great body of Republican voters or by their recognized and trusted leaders. Demonstrations of ratification were made in nearly every town in the Union on the night of the nominations, and ratification meetings have been held everywhere since. In the East particularly the enthusiasm was intense; many factories were compelled to shut down on account of the working people's desire to celebrate the happy event. In New York, the doubtful State, the carrying of which in the next election will most probably decide the great contest, there were such demonstrations of delight as have not been witnessed since the war. Before twelve o'clock Friday night, the day on which the nominations were made, ratification meetings were reported from Jamestown, where Ex-Governor Fenton and others spoke; from Port Jervis, where Hon. Lewis E. Carr, who had distinguished himself as a champion of Gov. Cleveland, addressed an immense meeting; from Corning, Schenectady, Cold Spring and Poughkeepsie. Salutes were fired at Albany by the County Committee; at Hudson, where flags were unfurled throughout the city; at Utica, at Rochester, where bands and crowds paraded the streets; clubs were formed at other points; the streets of Buffalo were so densely packed that travel was impeded; flags were raised by hundreds of the business houses at Troy, and bon-fires, fireworks and impromptu

torchlight processions were reported in every direction. All this in the one great State, and before the convention had actually adjourned. Similar manifestations of enthusiasm were made all over the North and in many of the Southern States.

That there was a dissenting voice heard decrying the nominations, must be admitted, but it was the same voice that, stung with jealousy, always bewails the success of any aspirant. These dissenters howled that the best and most worthy men of the party did not join in the outburst of enthusiasm. Was it not Abraham Lincoln who used to say that the millions were more sure to be right than their self-chosen leaders? Have we not been taught a great many times that the gentlemen who persuade themselves that they alone embody purity and honesty and patriotism, are quite apt to mistake personal disappointments and grudges for holier impulses? Is it really true that the millions have lost all sense of honor, and that the dozens only are virtuous? "In soberness and truth," *The New York Times* asks, "is not the name of Blaine the only name that really stirs the hearts of the Republican masses?" The question was meant to imply that the Republican masses have lost principle and honor and conscience, but is it not more easy to believe that some journals have lost much that they should have kept?

The Republican leaders, who have been recognized through all this contest as honorable and pure, high-minded and patriotic men—where are they? President Arthur has been so honored, even by those who opposed him, but was it not at his request that Congressman Burleigh moved to make the nomination unanimous, and the President himself at once telegraphed to Mr. Blaine his

assurance of "earnest and cordial support." Secretary Lincoln has been so honored by very many; he at once pronounced the nomination "one on which all Republicans can unite," and telegraphed his congratulations. General Gresham also has been so honored, and he declared the ticket "one for which all Republicans can work with a will." Senator Edmunds has been so honored, and he frankly recognized the fact that the nomination of Mr. Blaine had been desired by the Republican voters, especially in the great States which have Republican electoral votes to give, and held this "very strong reason" to believe that the ticket would prevail. Senator Hawley has been so honored by many, and he was prompt to send his congratulations. Is it not barely possible that these men also possess some virtue and some patriotism? And there is Mr. Roosevelt, who has been proclaimed the ablest and wisest the best and the worthiest of the whole array of Independents, by their own especial journals; from him comes the declaration, in an interview at St. Paul: "Blaine is the choice of two-thirds of the rank and file of the party. I shall bolt the nomination of the convention by no means. I have no personal objections to Blaine. He will sweep the West and Ohio, and will carry all New England. I have been called a reformer, but I am a Republican." What are we to say of the men who were too pure to follow anybody else than Mr. Roosevelt a week ago, and now profess to be too pure to act with him?

Who are the leaders of the Republican party? In Ohio, are not Sherman and Foraker, McKinley, Halstead and West, all for Blaine and Logan? Who are the leaders in Indiana? Senator Harrison is for Mr. Blaine, and so is General Gresham, as was the solid Indiana delegation in

convention. Who are the leaders in Pennsylvania? Mr. Stewart, the leader of the Independents, and Colonel Quay, of the Arthur forces, are now united as the party is. Who are the leaders in New Jersey? Senator Sewell and Mr. Phelps had the entire delegation, save one, with them at the end. Who are the leaders in New York? Not one of President Arthur's friends hesitates to support the ticket: the old guard of Stalwarts and the old leaders of the Half-Breeds, Conkling and Fenton, Cornell and Platt, Dutcher and Robertson, Warren and Roberts, O'Brien and now Roosevelt, are united in efforts as they have not been at any other time for many years.

No, it is not true that the best and worthiest Republicans reject this nomination. It is true that the best and worthiest men in the Republican party, as well as the millions who made the nomination, will support it with zeal. Let us not hear any more the impudent assumption that the few who cannot command their private griefs are the only pure and patriotic men in the Republican party. On the contrary, let us hope that time may presently bring them a cooler and more unprejudiced judgment. But whether it does or not, the millions are moving forward with their true and chosen leaders, and the millions govern in this country.

Of the bolting papers the most conspicuous are *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Times*. It is sufficient to say of the former that it branded Garfield as a fraud and corruptionist of the basest character. For weeks its cartoons represented Garfield on every occasion having his forehead branded with the word "Fraud," and carried its virility to the extent of demanding his impeachment for knavery. And yet, with all its declarations of dishonesty upon him, it supported Garfield in 1880. What a holy example that

periodical made of itself in this truculent exhibition; of what does its policy consist, to what ends are its support directed?

The *New York Times*, another fillibuster journal of unknown proclivities outside of jealousy, is disposed of thus felicitously by the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*:

“We had hoped the convention would put into the field a platform and candidates sufficiently virile, masculine and American to drive the *New York Times* out of the party, or compel its stockholders to meet and unload their present set of imported Bohemian scribblers in favor of American writers who know something about the history, interests and wants of the people of our own country. The signs are strong that the result has been accomplished. The ticket does not profess to be a ‘shining shore’ or absolutely philanthropic, golden-rule ticket. Its saintliness is like that which belongs to a bull in a cornfield, and which impresses those who are determined to go across the field that they had better be content with going around, looking in cautiously through the bars. It is a horned ticket, with no nub on either horn, but with a brisket like a buffalo and an immense tossing power. It is a ticket for its enemies to get out of the way of. It has its nose to the ground and its tail in the air, and already acts as if its horns were itching to gore something. There is nothing we would rather see get in its way than the *New York Times*.

“The *Times* is the ‘Holy Willie’ of American journalism. Its purity is something incredible to the ordinary corrupt mass of mankind. And then its diction, especially its benediction, is something immense for its grace and sweetness. But the strong point of the *Times* is in its economic profundity. As an economist, the *Times* is provided, like an owl, with four independent sets of eyelashes. One set shuts from right to left; another from left to right. The third begins at the circumference and closes in toward the centre; and the fourth begins at the centre and radiates toward the circumference. With one of these lids closed, it

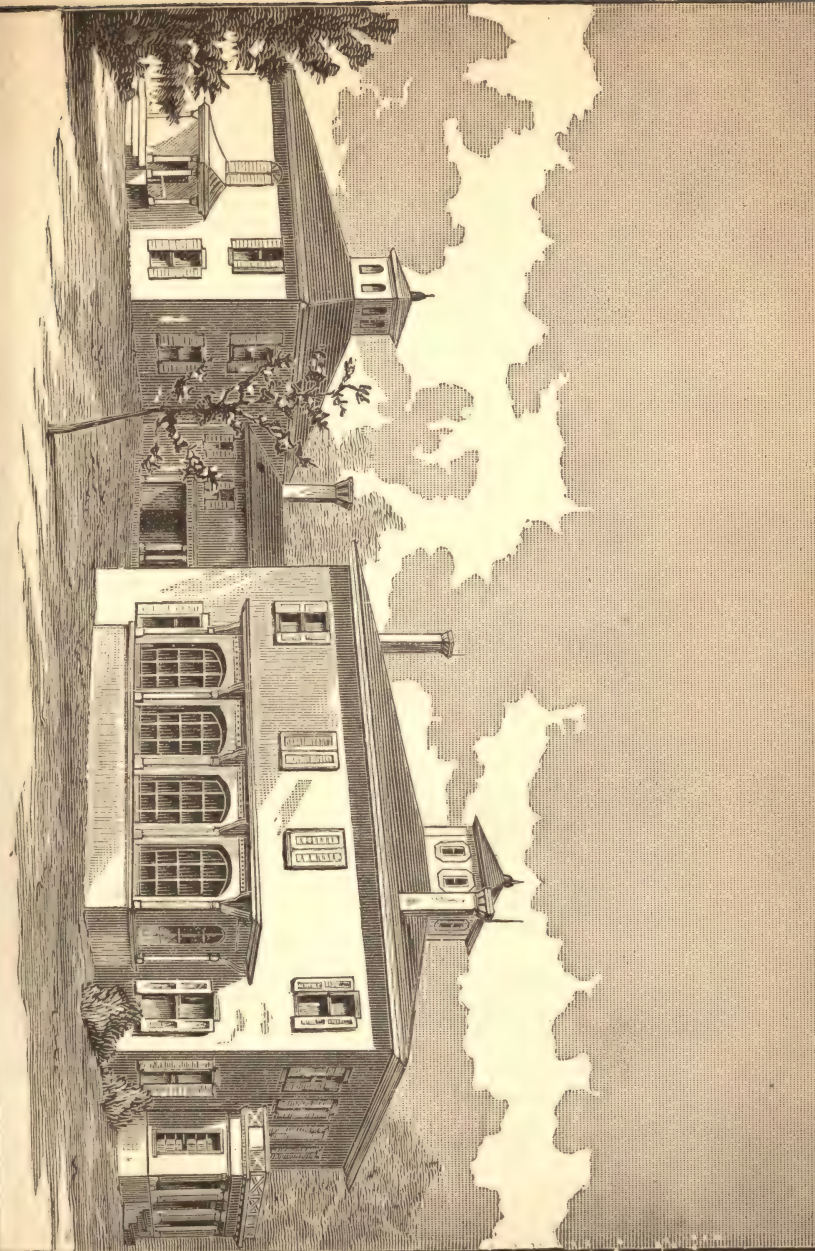
can see the redemption of the notes of the Bank of England going on three thousand miles away. When it shuts two, it can figure the premium on gold in the outer ring of the planet Saturn. With three of its eyelids closed, it can prove that a tariff is a tax ; and with four eyelids shut very tight, it can tell what Western Union will be worth two years after a comet strikes the earth.

“Of course, the Republican party, consisting as it does entirely of fools, has relied for what little light it could get on financial questions upon such contemptuous advice as the *Times* would spit forth at it, when it had about three of its eyelids closed. No political party could endure the effulgence which such a luminary would be if it undertook to tell all it knows with its vast owl-brain, and to reveal all it sees with its wondrous owl-eyes. Hence the danger is that we shall soon miss the croaking of the *New York Times*, and the Democratic party will get a new owl. For when it read, through its four sets of eyelashes, the tariff platform of the present Republican party, its solemn screech was dismal. It terrified even the frosty, tessellated branches of the icy woods around it. It confessed to that chill which is death’s premonition. As the poet remarks: ‘The owl, with all his feathers, was a-cold.’ ”

CHAPTER XXI.

In Augusta, Mr. Blaine's home, the reception of the news of Blaine's nomination was marked by the most extraordinary enthusiasm. All day long, when the balloting was in progress, the vicinity of the Western Union Telegraph office was crowded with anxious people. The crowds grew denser and denser as the news of successive ballots were received. When the joyful tidings came one grand hurrah burst forth from the grand throng, and the acclamations which arose found one prolonged echo from one limit of Water street to the other. Hats were thrown wildly in the air, and with joyous countenances the members of the crowd exchanged heartfelt congratulations. Men became wild and almost frenzied.

They wrestled with each other, they laughed and shouted for joy. It seemed as if they could not be satisfied. It was not long before Water street was well nigh impassable. Carriages blocked up the way, and where there were not vehicles the space was occupied by people. At 4:40 o'clock and less than five minutes after the news came, a mammoth flag was swinging in the breeze. As the banner was run up it was greeted with stentorian cheers. Men fairly shouted themselves hoarse. Next they went up the street to where a large portrait of Mr. Blaine was seen hanging out. Here they broke into a storm of cheers. At night the city was no less excited than it was in the afternoon. When the 8 o'clock train arrived it was the signal for renewed cheering. One hundred Gardiner citizens came up, and a large party



6

6

THE END

from Hallowell. A procession formed on Commercial street, and moved down State street to Mr. Blaine's residence. The houses and streets along the route were illuminated. In front of his residence the procession halted. "Three cheers for the next President of the United States," shouted the spokesman of the party. A storm of cheers followed. In response, Mr. Blaine appeared at the doorway and surveyed the assembled multitude for a moment. All demonstrations was quickly hushed and Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

My friends and my neighbors, I thank you most earnestly for the honor of this call. There is no spot in the world where good news comes to me so gratefully as here at my own home; among the people with whom I have been on terms of friendship and intimacy for more than thirty years, people whom I know and who know me. Thanking you again for the heartiness of the compliment, I bid you good night.

Mr. Blaine received the news of his nomination while swinging in a hammock between two apple trees on the large lawn which surrounds his house. He had shown great unconcern in the convention proceedings, devoting the day to amusements with his family, romping with the children and in every way following his well-known domestic pastimes, for Mr. Blaine's home has ever been the abiding place of joyous exuberance and perfect happiness.

The dispatch announcing his nomination was followed immediately by a confusion of whistles, clanging of bells and the glad shouts of overjoyed people, and yet there was no change in Mr. Blaine's appearance as he received the congratulations of friends. Telegrams came rushing in on him, almost literally by armfuls. Hundreds of dispatches followed from all parts of the country, from every

State in the Union. The following are a few of the most important:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 6.

Hon. James G. Blaine:

As the candidate of the Republican party you will have my earnest and cordial support. CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

To which Mr. Blaine replied:

Hon. Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

Accept my sincere thanks for your cordial assurance.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1884.

Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.:

I most heartily congratulate you on your nomination. You will be elected. Your friend.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

To Senator Logan's telegram of congratulation Mr. Blaine sent the following reply:

I am proud and honored in being associated with you in the national campaign.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hon. James G. Blaine:

Accept congratulations and cordial support.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

Among others sending congratulatory despatches were Hon. Henry L. Dawes, Ben Harrison, Murat Halstead, ex-Gov. Cornell, F. Carroll Brewster, Ellis H. Roberts and Edwin Coles, of Cleveland.

A special train of fifteen cars from Portland, Lewiston, and other cities reached the city in the evening, and a few minutes later a special Bangor train arrived with thirteen cars, and carrying more than a thousand persons. The visitors marched to the residence of Mr. Blaine, who received and addressed them as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am sure I must regard this as a compliment totally unprecedented in the history of politics in Maine. I do not dare take the compliment at all to myself, but I recognize the earnestness with which you are prepared to enter the pending national campaign, and I have the pleasure to announce to you from a despatch I have just received, that I have myself the honor to be associated on the Republican ticket, with that brave and honorable soldier, that eminent Senator and true man, John A. Logan, of Illinois.

[Tremendous applause and cheers three times for Logan.]

[A voice. "You can't beat that team."'] I am sure, gentlemen, I am very sorry that the elements are not as auspicious as they might have been for your visit. [A voice, "We have been waiting for the shower eight years,"] and the way you stand it is a good proof. I can add nothing by a speech to that fact, and you would hardly expect me to do more on this occasion than to express to you the very deep obligations I feel for the extraordinary compliment you have paid me in coming from your homes in distant parts of the State on the announcement of the action of the National Convention. I wish my home was large enough to contain you all as my heart is. [Cries of "Good!" and cheers.]

CHAPTER XXII.

Like all great men, Mr. Blaine has his enemies; enemies full of spite and malignity born of jealousy; enemies who, having been trodden under his feet, wriggle in their distress and are ever trying to reach up and bite him. The ambition of men and parties has neither compass nor direction; it is an unmeasured greed, resolving for an attainment that is never, and can never be reached; such ambition is like the Old Man of the Sea, ever ready to ride to power and preferment, and then throttle the steed by which it was born. Is it therefore to be wondered that in every campaign there should be such crimination and recrimination, such charges of corruption as, if true, would set the machinery of courts in motion, however rich and influential the parties so charged might be? Can we lose sight of the plain fact that each nomination is made, or supposed to be made, by the people themselves voicing their preferences through their duly chosen delegates? Charges of corruption made against nominees so chosen are therefore a reflection upon the honor and honesty of a majority of the people; but actuated by malice and political license, the common vultures of ambition advertise a feast in every campaign, by circling around the festering body of some charge of corruption that may have been proved only a putrid emanation of jealousy hundreds of times.

The Rev. J. B. Hamilton preached a sermon at Providence, R. I., on June 8th, which, for felicitous adaptation to the masses at this time, is worthy of much thought and a

wide dissemination. The following extract has immediate reference to the present campaign, as well as being a brief resume of the slanders that have been hurled at all our great men, who aspired to the Presidency, from Washington down the century to the present time. Said he:

“Defamation of character is a popular political method. Arguments give way to invectives; discussion of principles is superseded by vituperation of candidates. An illustrated journal of unsavory notoriety has enriched itself and amused its vicious readers by pilloring upon its pictorial page, an eminent citizen as the tattooed curiosity of a dime museum. Its tattoo marks are the unproven and disproven gossip of the gutter. Instead of meeting merited denunciation, its slander is quoted as the hit of the campaign. It will doubtless be repeated ‘*ad nauseam*,’ until the bulletin boards now occupied by Jumbo will flame with the popular caricature. The sad believer in human depravity finds his best arguments not in theological lore, but in the political caucus, convention and campaign journal.

“We are apt to imagine because we cannot escape the vile calumnies of every recognized political leader, that we are living in the last times; that all men are liars or rascals. We sigh for the statesmen of the past, whose love of country, brilliant genius and mighty achievements won for them the love and approval of their fellow-citizens. A glance backward teaches us a lesson that will enable us to look upon the ‘tattooed’ man with a smile of satisfaction that it is no worse. The calumny received by the leaders of ’84 is but a feeble varioloid compared to the plague endured by the fathers

“One name is revered above every other in American history, Washington, the illustrious general and patriotic statesman. He must have hushed the reptile’s hiss and escaped its fangs. By no means; no man living or dead was ever more cruelly maligned, or more outrageously defamed than he. It is not hard to believe that he was driven into private life by the unscrupulous abuse of a hostile

press. All his immediate successors fared the same. Jefferson, especially, was denounced for his personal vices as well as his public corruption. Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, to many an ideal statesman, even to-day was accused of nearly every vice or crime in the catalogue of wickedness. General Harrison was scurrilously assailed as 'Grandma Harrison, a gossiping old lady and imbecile.' From Washington to Buchanan no leader escaped. I need not say anything about Buchanan. Many who hear me remember how he was assailed, and perhaps joined in the assault. A laborious effort is now being made to rescue his memory from contempt by proving him to be neither a snivelling hypocrite, nor a cowardly knave. One name has power to hush to silence or fire with enthusiasm any American assemblage; and yet Abraham Lincoln was, in the eyes of his detractors, an unscrupulous demagogue and fiendish tyrant. When Horace Greeley, a man of pure life and glorious record, plaintively asked a friend, 'Am I running for the White House or the Penitentiary?' it was the throb of a broken heart. He died at the hand of the assassin as did his friend Lincoln. When Garfield's name was written upon a bulletin board in a city in Maine, a gentleman said, 'I am sorry my man did not get the nomination, but we have a candidate who cannot be assailed.' With the announcement of the nomination went out charges of villainy which, if proven, showed him to be one whom no honest man could support. Had it not been for the scandal-monger, we would not have had the assassin. The charges of dishonor and corruption uttered by gentlemen made possible the crime of Guiteau. Sumner and Phillips, two of New England's most brilliant and worthy sons, drank to the dregs the cup of contumely and indecent assault. When the form of each lay cold in death, the nation sought to wash out with tears the 'tattoo' marks of the vile slanderers.

"The duty of the hour is to demand that somewhere in American political life the place shall be found or made for decency and decorum. The Church of Christ is charged

with dying from a softening of the brain and a hardening of the heart. Have we not a right to demand that if a political campaign warrants the average gentleman in becoming a foul-mouthed blackguard, that discipleship to Jesus Christ, to say the least, shall involve courtesy and good breeding? Nothing can be said more to the injury of Christianity than that its adherents are uncrupulous scandal-mongers concerning their rivals. In the interest of public virtue, let us demand that the requirements and courtesies of decent society shall not be waived or ignored by professed Christian gentlemen in a political campaign. Let the principles involved and the claims of the candidates be discussed dispassionately; let defamation of character and ruffianly blackguardism be frowned upon by the better element of our voters, and political methods would be revolutionized. We will then see our best citizens engage in politics unterrified by the mud-slinger; the miasma of corruption which fills the air will be banished and we will enjoy the pure atmosphere of the home. Does this seem incredible or impossible? Apply the principles of the Gospel to political life as we do to home and business life, and the impossible is achieved. God forbids, denounces and punishes slander as any other gross sin. Tattoo the scandal-monger; write upon his name and brow 'slander', that all may know him, distrust and despise him."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Much as the fact is to be regretted, that men, claiming to be honorable, will assist in circulating slanders which are unproven, and which are known to have their origin with enemies, yet it is none the less imperative for the cause of justice, to meet all slanders, however contemptible, and give answers so strong that they may recoil upon those who originated them.

One of the most infamous charges ever preferred against Mr. Blaine was by a fellow named James Mulligan, the confidential clerk of Fisher & Co., with whom Mr. Blaine had had some business transactions of a legitimate character. This relation emboldened Mulligan to make a proposition to Mr. Blaine of such character that its acceptance would have been an impeachment of honor; whereupon Mulligan sought to intimidate Mr. Blaine by forswearing himself; in other words, he attempted to coerce Mr. Blaine into a collusion with himself for corrupting Congress, and the public who might be induced to make investments upon the confidence they had in Mr. Blaine.

To accomplish his purpose as explained, Mulligan went before a committee of Congress and there made statement to the effect that Mr. Blaine, acting as the broker of Warren Fisher, Sr., a contractor, had tried to sell to friends in Maine \$520,000 worth of stocks and bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, and had received for that service about \$162,500 of the company's bonds as a commission; that the speculation had turned out badly and

Mr. Blaine was compelled to take back part of the securities. Mulligan had added to this story the statement that Elisha Atkins, then a director in the Union Pacific Company, had told him that Mr. Blaine had sold \$75,000 of the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds to Col. Thos. A. Scott, and that Col. Scott had made the Union Pacific Company take them at eighty cents on the dollar.

When pressed for proof of his statements Mulligan had produced a number of letters and memoranda and declared that they would prove his story. At a subsequent examination Mulligan told how Mr. Blaine had visited him in the Riggs House and implored him for the sake of his wife and children to show him the letters, and how after he had gotten them he refused to return them.

The improbability of Mulligan's story, its inconsistencies and stupidity did not deter Mr. Blaine's enemies from raising a great cry filled with exaggeration and graceless falsehood; so annoying, because so unfounded, did these charges become to the sensitive nature of Mr. Blaine, that he resolved to definitely meet them publicly and honestly. The charges had been preferred before a committee of Congress, and Mr. Blaine therefore very properly decided to answer them before the Congress assembled, and to this end announced that on June 5th, 1876, he would produce the letters referred to by Mulligan and explain his entire connection with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad.

On the day appointed, the galleries and floor of the House were crowded to their utmost capacity. Mr. Blaine obtained the floor on a question of privilege and defended himself in a speech of such direct force and eloquence, that from every part of the House he was greeted with thunders of applause. After charging that the committee's inquiry had

been turned into an investigation of his personal affairs, he drew from his pocket the Mulligan letters. Holding them up, he said that they had been wrongfully in Mulligan's possession, and charged that the committee, in trying to use them against him, had violated the personal and private rights that belonged to every American citizen.

Then, holding the package high enough for the whole House to see it, he said:

"I thank God Almighty that I am not ashamed to show them. Here they are. There is the very original package. With some sense of humiliation, with a mortification which I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think every man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of 44,000,000 of people, and I will read these letters."

As he finished this sentence the Republican members, who had left their seats and stood near him, clapped their hands, and the throng in the galleries, who had listened with rapt attention, applauded and cheered.

Mr. Blaine then read the letters, gave his explanation of their meaning, and declared that they had been picked out of the most intimate business correspondence of his life. Then he faced his Republican colleagues, and said:

"I ask you, gentlemen, if any of you could stand a closer scrutiny, a more rigid investigation of your correspondence?"

The Republican members again applauded, and cheers went up from the galleries. Then Mr. Blaine advanced from the aisle and accused Proctor Knott of suppressing a despatch from Josiah Caldwell, which exonerated him from Mulligan's charges. He concluded this remarkable speech by moving that the committee be compelled to report

whether and why the despatch had been suppressed, and then took his seat amid the applause of his friends.

The country seemed to be satisfied with Mr. Blaine's explanations, but, notwithstanding this, after lying in the putrid slough of falsehood for eight years, his enemies once more revived the charges, hoping that his bold and manly course before the House had been forgotten. Mr. Blaine was a candidate for President again, and to defeat his aspirations the *New York Post* (or, rather, Carl Schurz) renewed its hostility towards him by reprinting, in the most nauseous and indefensible form, with additions and exaggerations equally unwarranted, the damnable lie assertive of his corrupt connection with the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, as well, also, as other charges no less groundless.

To this attack Mr. Blaine did not respond at once, because Hon. William Walter Phelps, a member of the present Congress, and a gentleman of long and intimate acquaintanceship with Mr. Blaine, thoroughly familiar with all the facts, himself preferred to answer the charges, which he did in a masterly manner in the following communication, published in the *New York Post* of April 25th:

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR:—On the 7th inst. you made formal charges against James G. Blaine. They are the same which were made eight years ago, and which were, I think, at that time satisfactorily answered. Lest others, however, may, like yourself, have forgotten everything except the assault, you must permit me to remind you of the defense. I think I may claim some qualifications for the task. I have long had a close personal intimacy with Mr. Blaine, and during many years have had that knowledge and care of his moneyed interests which men absorbed in public affairs are not inapt

to devolve upon friends who have had financial training and experience. I do not see how one man could know another better than I know him, and he to-day has my full confidence and warm regard. I am myself somewhat known in the city of New York, and think I have some personal rank with you and your readers. Am I claiming too much in believing that there is not one among you who would regard me as capable of an attempt to mislead the public in any way? With this personal allusion, pardonable, if not demanded under the circumstances, I proceed to consider your charges.

The first charge is really the one upon which all the others hinge. I give it in full, and in your own language, only italicizing some of your words, in order that my answer may be the clearer:

“The first of these charges is that in the spring session of Congress, in 1869, a bill was before the House of Representatives, which sought to renew a land grant to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, of Arkansas, *in which some of Mr. Blaine’s friends were interested*; that an attempt to defeat it by an amendment was made, and its promoters were in despair; that at this juncture Mr. Blaine, being then Speaker of the House, sent a message to Gen. Logan to make the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the purposes of the bill; that this point of order was accordingly raised and promptly sustained by Mr. Blaine as Speaker, and the bill was in this manner saved; *that Mr. Blaine wrote at once to the promoters, calling attention to the service he had rendered them, and finally, after some negotiations, secured from them, as a reward for it, his appointment as selling agent of the bonds of the road on commission in Maine, and received a number of such bonds as his percentage*; that the leading features of this transaction appeared in two letters of his, afterwards made public, dated respectively June 29, and October 4, 1869.”

Your error is in the facts. Mr. Blaine’s friends were not connected with the Fort Smith & Little Rock Road at the time of the passage of this bill. Those to whom you refer

as his friends were Caldwell and Fisher. The bill passed in April, 1869. In April, 1869, Mr. Blaine did not know that there was any such man as Caldwell, and Fisher, who was Mr. Blaine's friend, did not know that there was any such enterprise as the Little Rock Railroad in the world. The evidence of these assertions was before Congress, was uncontradicted, and is within your reach. On the 29th of June, nearly eighty days after Congress had adjourned, Mr. Blaine, from his home in Maine, wrote to Fisher, and spoke of Fisher's "offer to admit him to a share in the new railroad enterprise." Fisher had introduced the subject to Mr. Blaine, for the first time, a week before, at the great musical festival in Boston. He told him there that Mr. Caldwell, whom Mr. Blaine had not yet seen, had now obtained control of the enterprise, and had invited Fisher to join him. At that time Fisher was a sugar-refiner of considerable wealth in Boston, had been a partner of Mr. Blaine's brother-in-law, and through him had made Mr. Blaine's acquaintance. The offer Mr. Blaine refers to in his letter was Fisher's offer to induce Caldwell, if he could, to let Mr. Blaine have a share in the bed-rock of the enterprise. Mr. Fisher failed to do this, and Mr. Blaine never secured any interest in the building of the Fort Smith & Little Rock Railroad.

What interest, then, did Mr. Blaine secure? An interest in the securities of the company. How? By purchase, on the same terms as they were sold on the Boston market to all applicants, to Josiah Bordwell, to Elisha Atkins, and to other reputable merchants. He negotiated for a block of the securities, which were divided, as is usual in such enterprises, into three kinds, first mortgage bonds, second mortgage bonds and stock. The price, I think, was three for one. That is, the purchaser got first mortgage bonds for his money and an equal amount of second mortgage bonds and of stock thrown in as the basis of possible profit. I may be mistaken as to the price, but I think not. I went myself at this time into several adventures of the kind at that rate, and have always understood that Senator Grimes

and his friends got their interests in the Burlington & Missouri Road, afterward the Union Pacific, on the same three-to-one basis. It was the common rule in that era of speculation. Having made his purchase, Mr. Blaine conceived the idea that he might retain his second mortgage bonds as profit, and sell the first mortgage bonds with the stock as a bonus to attract purchasers. He believed the first mortgage bonds were good, and disposed of them to his neighbors in that faith, and with the determination to shield them from loss in case of disaster. Disaster came. The bonds proved worthless, and Mr. Blaine redeemed them all. In one or two cases only was there any guarantee. In none other was there any legal obligation, but he recognized a moral claim, and he obeyed it to his own pecuniary loss. I can not but feel that the purchasers of these bonds would have fared worse had they to look to many of those who have sought to give an odious interpretation to Mr. Blaine's honorable conduct. The arrangement for the purchase of the block of securities was made in June. The sales of the first mortgage bonds out of the block were continued through the months of July, August and September, 1869. So the transaction was closed when, in the letter of October 4, Mr. Blaine wrote to Fisher, and told him the story of the 9th of April. Mr. Blaine had come across it, while looking over the *Globe*, with a natural curiosity to see what had been his decisions during the first six weeks of his Speakership, and wrote of it to Fisher as an item in the legislative history of the enterprise into which they had both subsequently entered. It concerned a bill to renew a land grant, made long before the war, to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad. The bill had passed the Senate without opposition, and there was no one objecting to it in the House. But the advocates of the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Railway bill sought to attach their bill to it as an amendment. This El Paso scheme was known at the time as General Fremont's scheme, and had been urged upon Congress before. It was generally unpopular, and was hotly opposed by General Logan. Wedded to the Little Rock bill it would gain strength, but

the Little Rock bill would lose by it, and a just measure, universally approved, would be killed in its effort to pull through with it this unjust measure, universally disapproved.

Mr. Blaine's letter to Fisher will tell the rest of the story. He wrote: "In this dilemma Roots, the Arkansas member, came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules, for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that the amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane, but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point. But he said that General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment, and at once passed without objection." Mr. Blaine added these significant words: "*At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing him, I did him a great favor. . . . I thought the point would interest both you and Mr. Caldwell, though before either of you were engaged in the enterprise.*"

This seems, Mr. Editor, to dispose of your first charge. The bill was a just one, and Mr. Blaine's friends had no interest in it when it passed the House. Eighty days after the House adjourned, Mr. Blaine asked his friends, who had in the meantime gotten hold of the enterprise, and had offered him some interest. to let him in as a partner. They refused. They did, however, sell him a block of securities on the same terms they sold them to others, and it proved an unfortunate purchase, for he sold them out among his friends, believing them valuable, and took them all back when he found that they were worthless. The letter of Mr. Blaine, written months after, contains his vindication, and so clearly, that Judge Black, after an investigation of the whole subject, declared in his characteristic style that Mr. Blaine's letters proved that the charge which you repeat against him, "was not only untrue, but impossible, and would continue so to prove until the Gregorian Calender

could be turned around, and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the years."

Your second charge consists of two parts. The first part is, that Mr. Blaine wrongfully asserted that "The Little Rock & Fort Smith Road derives its life and value and franchise wholly from the State of Arkansas," whereas the evidence subsequently taken, discloses the fact that the road "derived the value on which these bonds were based from the Act of Congress, of which Mr. Blaine secured the passage." It will be found that you have inaccurately quoted Mr. Blaine's language, or rather, that you have put language into his mouth which he never used. What Mr. Blaine did say was: "The railroad company derived its life, value and franchises from the State of Arkansas." And Mr. Blaine stated the precise truth. What are the facts? More than thirty years ago, Congress granted to the States of Missouri and Arkansas a certain quantity of public lands to aid in the construction of certain lines of railway. The franchises that should be granted to the companies that should build the road, were expressly left by Congress to the Legislatures of the States. Mr. Blaine spoke, therefore, with absolute precision of language, as he usually does, when he stated that "the Little Rock Company derived its life, value and franchises wholly from the State of Arkansas"—just as the Illinois Central Railroad Company derives its life, value and franchises from the State of Illinois, though enriched by a land grant from the United States, just as the Little Rock road was.

The second part of your second charge is that Mr. Blaine did not speak truthfully when he asserted that he "bought the bonds at precisely the same rates as others paid." There is no evidence anywhere to sustain this accusation. I have already said any person could negotiate for them on the one-for-three basis, just as Mr. Blaine did, and many availed themselves of the opportunity. The price paid was not in the least affected by the fact that Mr. Blaine had already arranged to sell some of the securities afterward at a higher price than he paid for them. He did this with the deter-

mination, honorably maintained, that he would make good any loss which might accrue. These sales did not change the price to Fisher, and the proof that it did not, is found in the fact that Mr. Blaine paid it to him in full. You speak in connection with this of Mr. Blaine's being appointed an agent to sell the bonds of the company. No such appointment was ever made, and no evidence suggested it. Mr. Blaine bought his securities at a given price and paid it for them.

Your third formal charge relates to an alleged connection of Mr. Blaine with a share in the Northern Pacific enterprise. You charge this in the face of the fact that in Mr. Blaine's letter in which you find the subject referred to was his distinct asseveration that he "could not himself touch the share." Have you seen any evidence that he did? I have not. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company has been organized and re-organized, and recently re-organized a second time. Its records of ownership and interest have passed under the official inspection of at least a hundred men, many of whom are political enemies and some of them are to my knowledge personal enemies of Mr. Blaine, and there has never been a suggestion or hint from any of these that in any form whatever Mr. Blaine had the remotest personal interest in the Northern Pacific Company. If one of your associates has such evidence it is right that he should produce it.

Your fourth charge is that after Mr. Blaine got possession of the so-called Mulligan letters "he subsequently read such of them as he pleased to the House in aid of his vindication." The answer is that Mulligan's memorandum of the letters in which he had numbered and indexed each one of them was produced and number and index corresponded exactly with the letters read. This was fully demonstrated on the floor of the House and is a part of its records.

You repeat the charge that Mr. Blaine received a certain sum from the Union Pacific Railroad Company for seventy-five bonds of the Little Rock road. You say this without a particle of proof. You say it against the sworn denial of

Thomas A. Scott, who was the party alleged to have made the negotiation. You say it against the written denial of Mr. Sidney Dillon, President of the company; against the written denial of E. H. Rollins, Treasurer of the company; against the written denial of Morton, Bliss & Co., through whose banking house the transaction was alleged to have been made. Against this mountain of direct and positive testimony from every one who could by any possibility have personal knowledge of the alleged transaction, you oppose nothing but hearsay and suspicion as the ground of a serious charge against the character of a man long eminent in public life. The courtesy which admits me to your columns prevents my saying what I think of your recklessness in this matter.

Your fifth charge arraigns Mr. Blaine's policy as an executive officer, and your last charge is that of packing conventions in his favor. I do not desire to dwell upon either. This is not the place to review his foreign policy to which you refer, and I am content to remark that however much some Eastern journals may criticise, it is popular with a large majority of the American people. It is simply an American policy, looking to the extension of our commerce among the nations of this continent, and refraining from European complications. The charge of packing conventions needs no answer. This is the third Presidential campaign in which Mr. Blaine has been undeniably the choice of a large proportion of the Republican party. In each of them he has had the active opposition of the National Administration with the use of its patronage against him. He has controlled no patronage. He has no machine. Machine and patronage have been steadily against him. Whatever prominence he has enjoyed has been conferred by the people. He has no means not open to every citizen of influencing public opinion. No campaign in his favor originated elsewhere than among the people. He has never sought office. He never held a position to which he was not nominated by the unanimous voice of his party. He has not sought the Presidency. Circumstances made him a candidate in 1876.

almost before he was aware of it. In 1880 he did not wish to enter the canvass. I was one of a small party of friends who in a long conversation in February, 1880, persuaded him that it was his duty. He has done nothing to make himself a candidate this year. He has asked no man's support. He has written no letters, held no conversation, taken no steps looking to his candidacy. He has never said to his most intimate friends that he expected or wanted the nomination.

If, upon a review of the whole case, you should charge that it would have been better and wiser for Mr. Blaine to have refrained from making any investment in a railroad that had directly or indirectly received aid from the legislation of Congress, I should be ready to agree with you, not because the thing was necessarily wrong in itself, but because it is easy for such matters to be so represented as to appear wrong. But why should Mr. Blaine be selected for special reprobation and criticism, when so many other Senators and Representatives have been similarly situated? I know of my own knowledge that Governor Morgan, Mr. Hooper, Senator Grimes and many of my friends while in Congress acquired and held interests in such enterprises, and neither you nor I nor the people suspected the transaction to be wrong or that it gave them an advantage over other investors. Why entertain and publish that suspicion against Mr. Blaine alone? When I sat as a delegate at-large in the last National Convention, Senator Edmunds and Senator Windom were both candidates, and I should gladly have supported either. Senator Edmunds was understood to have a block of Burlington and Missouri securities, and the other had not only a block in the securities of the Northern Pacific Company, but was one of its Directors. Yet you find no fault with these gentlemen. Nor would you and I differ in giving the highest rank to Senator Grimes, but both he and Senator Edmunds acquired their interests in the Burlington and Missouri road while they were in the Senate. They both certainly supported the bill to restore the land grant to their road passed on the same day

with the Little Rock bill. Both measurers were just, and both were passed in the Senate and House without a dissenting vote. Why must we suspect that Mr. Blaine had a secret and corrupt motive, and that other members and Senators had none?

Let me add a circumstance which seems to me to be significant of Mr. Blaine's conscious innocence in this Fort Smith transaction. He voluntarily made himself a party of record in a suit against the Fort Smith and Little Rock Railway Company in the U. S. Court which involved the nature and source of his ownership in the property. If he had obtained this ownership dishonorably, would he have courted this publicity?

I have thus ventured, Mr. Editor, to make answer to the charges you have brought against Mr. Blaine. There are other charges equally baseless which I have read, but in other papers, so that I may not claim your space to deny or answer them. I give two examples, Mr. Blaine is represented as the possessor of millions, while I know that he was never the possessor of the half of one million. He was represented as living for the past ten years in palatial grandeur in Washington. He sold that palatial mansion with all its furniture to Mr. Travers for \$24,000, and got all that it was worth. But you are responsible for such charges as you have made, and I have therefore made answer to them authoritatively over my own name, and I challenge a denial of any substantial fact I have stated. Your attacks are not on Mr. Blaine alone, they are on his friends as well, and these are certainly a larger and more devoted body of supporters than can be claimed by any other man in public life. It seems to me, as I recall those in every station who are proud to be numbered among them, that I recognize many of the ablest, trust and most honorable of our countrymen.

I am respectfully yours,

WM. WALTER PHELPS.

Mr. E. P. Brooks writes in the *Peoria Call* of the Mulligan letter episode as follows:

“I witnessed the scene in the House when Blaine read the much-talked-of Mulligan letters. Recalling all the incidents and facts connected with that historic affair, I wonder now at the short-sightedness of his foes in making so much fuss and laying so much stress upon those harmless epistles. The truth is, the way Mr. Blaine handled them proved his ability to hoist his calumniators with their own petards, and also proved his innocence of the charges that had been based on them. For days and weeks, if not months, before the bursting of this part of the mud-slinging conspiracy against him there were printed in the opposition press broadcast all over the country all sort of misterious hints, broad innuendoes and imposing threats of frightful disclosures to be made when Mulligan should be heard from. The mind of the newspaper-reading public had been educated, carefully and shrewdly tutored up to the expectation of the final development of crushing evidence—testimony that would utterly overwhelm him. And Mulligan came to Washington, taking quarters at the Riggs House, heralded as the man who would open the gates of disgrace and oblivion to the foremost Republican of his period, as the man who would ‘brand Blaine’ with the indellible stigma of official corruption, and consign him to eternal ruin. There were a few Republicans who tremblingly feared the result, and some, too, I am sorry to say, who were engaged in aiding Mr. Proctor Knott in his endeavors to overwhelm the ablest opponent the Confederate Brigadiers had met upon their return to the national capital. But Mr. Blaine was on the alert. Mr. Mulligan had no sooner arrived in Washington than he received a visit from his expected victim. What passed between them no one save themselves can tell. But Mulligan subsequently declared he had never before met a man such as his visitor of that evening proved to be, a man who ‘plucked the flower of safety from the nettle of danger,’ or, more properly, one who wrested from

his most wicked persecutors and desperate maligners the proofs of his innocence. Mr. Blaine got possession of the letters. Boldly, as bravely as only an innocent and greatly injured man could be, he gave them with his own tongue and hand to the world. 'There they are,' said he in substance; 'there they are, the proofs of my guilt that you've been waiting for; and now make the most of them. I give them to you, one and all, exactly as they came from the hands of your own witness.' This dramatic episode has been stupidly described as a bold stroke, and as an audacious counter-movement against his enemies. But it was nothing of the kind. There was nothing in it to be characterized as the superhuman effort of a daring man cornered and fighting against fate. Rather it was the demonstration of eternal justice, the vindication of eternal truth, and the assertion indisputable of the innocence of the intended victim of Bourbon hatred and malice. The effect was electric beyond conception. Blaine's friends were astounded, as his enemies were abashed, at his temerity. But they soon discovered there was no rash contempt of danger in his proceedings. They found there was no danger for him to fear in this culminating assault upon his character. Then came the anti-climax. 'Oh,' cried his defamers, 'how do we know these are all the proofs?' 'By the words from Mulligan's own mouth,' was the response, 'by the memoranda your own witness had made of the letters and their contents.' This, in brief, is the history, the true tale of the Mulligan episode. Let the opposition make the most they can of it. But in the mind of the average citizen it resides of record only alongside of the infamous Morey letter forgery. Mulligan and Morey—that's the slogan of the hour."

CHAPTER XXIV.

In pursuance of the time-honored custom, inaugurated in the Convention of 1832, the committee appointed by the National Convention of 1884, to notify Hon. Jas. G. Blaine of his nomination for the Presidency, met in Augusta, on the 21st of June, and proceeded to a performance of their pleasant duties. The city was filled with people in anticipation of the event, and nearly all the buildings were appropriately draped with national bunting, in honor of the distinguished townsman who was to receive the highest award that his party could bestow.

At 11 o'clock the committee proceeded in a body to Mr. Blaine's residence, where they were graciously received by Mrs. Blaine. The day was too oppressively warm for comfort within doors, and upon suggestion the committee repaired to a shaded spot on the ample lawn, under large spreading branches of stately elm and oak trees, and forming a semi-circle, stood, with uncovered heads, awaiting the presence of Mr. Blaine. After a very brief interval the great statesman appeared and took his position at the center, facing the committee, and accompanied by his wife and children. Gen. John B. Henderson then stepped forward a pace from the semi-circle and addressed Mr. Blaine as follows:

MR. BLAINE—Your nomination for the office of President of the United States by the National Convention recently assembled at Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen before you, constituting the committee, composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country,

and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that Convention to give you formal notice of the nomination and to request your acceptance thereof.

It is of course known to you that beside your own, several names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this promotion. Between your friends and the friends of the gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates, the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice.

At an early stage of the proceedings of the Convention it became manifest that the Republican States, whose aid must be invoked at the last to insure success to the ticket, earnestly desired your nomination. It was equally manifest that the desire so earnestly expressed by the delegates from these States was but a truthful reflection of the irresistible popular demand. It is not thought nor pretended that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own or in the organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be what it truthfully is—a spontaneous expression by the people of love and admiration for their chosen leader.

No nomination would have given satisfaction to all the members of the party. This was not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Lincoln in 1860 disappointed so many hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions that for a short time the disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt. In 1872 the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party to organize in opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of Garfield in 1880, defeat seemed inevitable. In each case the shock of disappointment was followed by sober, second thought. Individual preference gradually yielded to convictions of public duty. Promptings of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. The party in

every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

In tendering you the nomination, it gives us pleasure to remember those great measures which furnished causes for party congratulations by the late Convention at Chicago, and which are now crystallized into the legislation of the country; measures which have strengthened and dignified the nation, and while they elevated and advanced the people, have at all times and on all proper occasions received your earnest and valuable support.

It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the nation against the assaults of armed treason; you were present and helped to unloose the shackles of the slave; you assisted in placing a new guarantee of freedom in the Federal Constitution; your voice was potent in preserving the national faith, when false theories of finance would have blasted national and individual prosperity. We kindly remember you as a fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, dignity of labor, manhood, elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand and the duty of the government to afford protection, your public acts have received unqualified indorsement and popular approval. But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, can not live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties and its perplexing responsibilities. Parties, like individuals, however, that are free from stain and unviolated faith in the past, are fairly entitled to the presumption of sincerity in their promises for the future.

Among the promises made by the party in its late Convention at Chicago are: Economy in party administration; protection of citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; a prompt restoration of the navy; a wise reduction of the surplus revenues, relieving the tax-payer, without injuring the laborer; the preservation of public lands for actual settlers; import duties, when necessary

at all, to be levied not for revenue only, but for the double purpose of revenue and protection; the regulation of internal commerce and the settlement of internal differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the republic; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided; honest currency, based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to the public credit and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

Mr. Blaine, during the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new republic; a republic far more splendid than that originally designed by our fathers. As its proportions are already grand, they may yet be enlarged; its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns adorned with beauty more resplendent still. To you, as its architect-in-chief, will soon be assigned this grateful work."

Mr. Blaine replied to the notification of his nomination in the following words:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the National Committee: I receive, not without deep sensibility, your official notice of the action of the National Convention, already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency, by the Republican party of the nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of their duly accredited delegates.

To be selected as a candidate from such an assemblage, from the list of eminent statesmen, whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor, and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me in accepting the nomination as I now do. I am impressed; I am also oppressed with the sense of the labor and responsibility which attaches to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men who support my candidacy.

A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that, in the whole and in detail, they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you to my house. With many of you I have already shared the duties of public service, and have enjoyed most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine, you will feel that you are not among strangers, but with friends. Invoking the blessings of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.

At the conclusion of Mr. Blaine's reply, the members of the committee were introduced to him individually, and an hour was spent in social and informal converse. The members of the committee then repaired to the residence of Col. Osgood, where they were entertained at lunch.

CHAPTER XXV.

A formal notification to the Presidential nominee, by a special committee, selected in the Convention making the nomination, is a comparatively recent departure in American politics, and still more recent is the custom of such nominees replying by written letters of acceptance. As stated in a preceding chapter, giving the history of conventions, until 1832 candidates for the Presidency were nominated by Congressional caucus, or by a public sentiment, manifested in the action of State Legislatures.

In 1828 Gen. Jackson was first proposed for the Presidency by the Legislature of Tennessee, and that action was supplemented by a State Convention, held at Harrisburg, Pa. There was no central authority. The candidate was made so by general acclaim, and the only formal ceremony was usually a ratification meeting, held at some populous point, at which the candidate appeared and made a speech. This was the case in 1832, when the first National Convention ever held, assembled at Baltimore, in May. This was proclaimed at the time as the downfall of "King Caucus," and from that time, Presidential candidates have been the product of National Conventions. The only controversy at that time was over the Vice-President, there being great opposition to Mr. Calhoun, who seemed to be entitled to the office by right of succession. The result, however, was the nomination of Martin Van Buren. Mr. Van Buren received the news at a hotel, and acknowledged the honor from the balcony. Jackson, being then President, was not even

formally notified. He was supposed to read the news in the papers, and, as he did not decline the candidacy, the latter went "without saying."

Formal letters of acceptance were rather the outcome of political platforms, and these did not come into existence as such until 1840. Then the Convention which nominated Van Buren had a series of "resolves" as long as the moral law. Prior to that, party principles were set forth in what was known as an "Address to the People." This was the work of a committee as now, but was put forth in much more diffuse shape than mere resolutions, and was signed by the Chairman of the Convention.

There was no written acceptance of a nomination for President until 1848, and that was decidedly informal. Somebody got up in the Whig Convention and asked how they knew that Gen. Taylor would accept the nomination, if tendered him. Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, produced a letter from the General, addressed to Capt. Allison, expressing a willingness to make the race. That settled it, but even then there was a hitch, for nobody knew how Gen. Taylor stood on the question of slavery extension, which had just come into prominence, and was made a great Whig issue. Nobody could explain how the General stood, so the Convention adjourned without making any platform at all. They took old Zachary entirely on trust. At a ratification meeting, two weeks later, in Philadelphia, however, a series of resolves was passed, and stood for the Whig platform for that campaign. As Zachary was not heard from as repudiating those resolves, his candidacy existed without question.

The first formal letter of acceptance of which there is any record now obtainable was that of Gen. Scott's in 1852. Its

singularity, perhaps, led to its preservation. The Whigs of that year had adopted a kind of catch-all platform. It promised everything to everybody, and seemed to foreshadow the approach of the millennium. Gen. Scott addressed his letter to the President of the Convention, J. G. Chapman, and in it he took up each resolve and promised like a schoolboy, who might hope to win merit marks for good behavior, faithfully to carry it out.

The simplicity of the letter, the spirit of "Oh Mister, give me this and I will be good," ran so completely through the composition that everybody laughed. The subserviency of the thing, coupled with the famous speeches of Scott which bid in the most abject way for class and sectarian and race votes, effectually squelched the General, and he was beaten ingloriously. There is no record of Pierce's letter of acceptance, but in 1856 we find Buchanan's. It was a mere formal acknowledgment of the honor and a promise to stand by the platform of the Democratic party, which, by the way, was the longest political platform ever adopted. It contained six "whereas," fourteen "resolves," and twenty-two subdivisions of resolves. The whole would make fully twelve pages of a book like this. Fremont's letter was also short, but there were signs even then of the well-known egotism of the man. The personal pronoun "I" occurs in it sixteen times, and two distinct references to the services of the "Pathfinder," etc. Letters of acceptance became general, however, in 1860. Then all candidates wrote them, and in that year, too, appears the first record of a formal committee to wait upon the candidates. Abraham Lincoln's was very brief. He simply said:

I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you preside. The declaration of principles and

sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it in any part; imploring the assistance of Divine Providence and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention; to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution and the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention. Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

That was all. It was simple, straightforward, and evidently written with a keen sense of the responsibility he was about to assume. His humble trust in Providence is but another evidence of the deep religious feeling that always actuated Mr. Lincoln's great and lofty impulses.

Mr. Hamlin had less humility. He had much to say, and said it at considerable and unnecessary length. There was a redundancy about his composition that conveys the idea that he meant that paper to be the greatest production of his life, one that would live in history. Mr. Breckenridge's letter was also quite long, and it expressed sentiments which, in the light of subsequent events, seemed to have placed the writer in a ridiculous position. "Above all," he said at the close, "I venture humbly to hope that Divine Providence, to which we owe our origin, our growth and all our prosperity, will continue to protect our beloved country against all danger, both foreign and domestic." And yet in less than a year after this candidate who had invoked Divine help to protect his country from "domestic" danger, was found in a rebel uniform fighting against it. When a loyal shot from a United States gunboat at Port Hudson took off his arm, perhaps Mr. Breckenridge again

invoked Divine help, and probably then with more sincerity.

Douglas' letter was just what might have been expected of him. It was a clean-cut re-announcement of the views which everybody knew he held. He ignored the platform of his party, and struck out for himself. He stated his own views. He did not repeat or synopsise the resolutions. He came out as Douglas, and wrote an original letter. Space forbids copying it in full, but it was a masterly proclamation of his own principles. It was a letter of Douglas', contained Douglas' own views, and was addressed to a committee of Douglas' friends.

All the candidates then wrote letters. Bell's was short and purposeless. Jo Lane, of Oregon, on the ticket with Breckenridge, wrote in the somewhat grandiloquent strain of the times; indeed, it was noticeable at that period that all the candidates for the office of Vice-President wrote longer, more imposing and high-sounding letters, than did the principal candidates. Lane's was very long. So was Herschel Johnson's, though he was a makeshift candidate with Douglas in place of Fitzpatrick, who, in a bitter letter, had declined. But the longest, most imposing, most grandiloquent and oratorical effusion was that of Edward Everett, on the ticket with Bell.

Mr. Everett felt called upon to narrate the history of the times, and expound his own views as he had held them for a third of a century. He embraced in his letter a great speech, an epic, a wonderful dissertation. His rhetoric was turgid and ponderous; his sentences labored, diffuse, and reeking with verbiage. The whole effort, as preserved in the annals, sounds funny, especially as its author got less votes than any of the candidates. Mr. Everett's letter

of acceptance, if printed now in this work, would occupy not less than twenty pages.

We are not able to find any record of Gen. McClellan's letter of 1864, nor of Seymour's in 1868, though the latter, it is remembered, was lengthy, and reviewed the platform comprehensively. But in its references to the war and the re-construction measures then pending, it took such ground as to antagonize the war spirit of his own party, and defeat was understood as inevitable from the start. Gen. Grant's letter, in 1868, was a mere note of acknowledgment, couched in the language of the camp. It read like: "General Order No. —, in the Field." But in 1872 his acceptance was expressed in elegant language, full of patriotic resolution. Senator Wilson, however, spread himself to the extent of about 4,000 words, one feature of his letter being a cordial sentiment in favor of woman suffrage. Greeley's letter was a masterpiece, written with all the power that the great editor could command. All that wonderful force that had become so familiar in the *Tribune*, was brought into play, and in language, arrangement of themes, directness of diction and power of logic, the "old man" gave the fullest evidence of his greatness as a master of English and his capacity to concentrate thought. Perhaps Greeley's letter will rank in future years as the most cogent State paper of the days in which he lived. Gratz Brown's was long but weak. It contained no new thoughts, nor was it much else than a paraphrase of the platform.

Four years later Mr. Hayes' letter appeared. It was tame, and contained nothing beyond promises to carry out the party's wishes. Mr. Wheeler's was no abler, and has therefore passed out of mind.

Mr. Tilden's letter in 1876, was the State paper of the

day. It did more than any platform of his party or vote of the Convention which nominated him, to bring him close to the patriotic sentiment of the people. Though rather prolix, it was full of thought and statesmanship. The Garfield letter of four years ago, also ranks as a great paper, and it undoubtedly was. Had Mr. Garfield lived to put in force the principles he there so ably gave voice to, his administration might have been regarded as one of the most perfect in American history.

The long and very intimate relations which existed between President Garfield and Mr. Blaine, as well, also, the appointment of Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, and particularly subsequent events, gave rise to the impression that Garfield's letter of acceptance was not prepared entirely without advice or suggestion from Mr. Blaine; indeed, the perfect accord of sentiment and policy between the two furnish strong circumstantial proof that Garfield had at least consulted with Blaine upon pertinent issues which were discussed in the letter of acceptance.

At this writing, Mr. Blaine has not made public his epistolary utterances, in response to the Convention which honored him with the nomination, contenting himself for the time with an acknowledgment of his gratitude, and acceptance, made to the committee who officially notified him of his selection to carry the Republican standard, as already printed. There is little real need for Mr. Blaine to write a letter, which is but conformance to a custom that has comparatively recently been established; for his long public services, including a brilliant leadership in the days of both horrid war and piping peace, has made him so familiar to the people that they know his policy and can almost foresee the character of his administration. Nevertheless, en-

deared as he is for his great abilities and bold avowals, there has been much desire expressed to read his letter of acceptance, because there is an anticipation that, like his State papers and political debates, it will bristle with sharp and direct points of immediate application, and a perspicuous statement of the real issues which enter into the campaign. Mr. Blaine justly merits the reputation, which he has long borne, of being one of the most trenchant, as well as the most thoughtful writers of the age, while his knowledge of men, and wonderful comprehension of political measures and propositions, lead the public to expect of him nothing that is not brilliant and full of wisdom. That no disappointment will be suffered in this expectation may be now declared, for he has already given to confidential friends enough of his letter to confirm belief in its vigorous statesmanship.

The excuse for Mr. Blaine's delay in giving his letter to the public is probably due to the date of the Democratic Presidential Convention, which was arranged to meet a month later than the Republican Convention, undoubtedly to take advantage of any disaffection or disappointment which might result from the Republican nominations. This political manœuvre can best be counteracted by a lucid exposition from Mr. Blaine's magnetic pen, followed by a bold enunciation of his purposes, which Republicans everywhere believe will prove so emphatic and conclusive as will discomfit Democracy, and win back the alienated few who have ill-considerately decried his nomination.

Further justification for Mr. Blaine's delay is found in the indecision manifested by the Democracy on the question of tariff reform, who are now truculently vascillating in a vain effort to adopt variant opinions expressed by the East

and West, or by the manufacturing and consuming classes. These irreconcilable differences within the party, which prevent a graceful straddle, have been the inducement which influenced the Democrats to defer their Convention until July, and perceiving this, Mr. Blaine has delayed his letter until such a time as he could discuss, with direct force and effect, whatever final action his opposing party may take, appreciating how vulnerable must be its nominations on platform. This view of the political situation, whether true or not, largely increases the interest of his letter, by leading to a popular expectation that it will prove pre-eminently the most thorough and ablest communication that has ever been addressed to the American people.



J. A. Garfield

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Since Mr. Blaine was first suggested for the Presidency, through the three campaigns in which he has so prominently figured, very much has been said about his foreign policy. What is it? The answer commends itself to every sovereign within the national realm. His policy is to make this nation a respected institution among the world's governments; to enforce the rights of every American citizen, at home and abroad; to plant firmly, positively again, the principles of pure republicanism which have been so seriously impaired by the introduction of tawdry and emasculating European mannerisms; to say unto kingly powers, "We respect your laws when they are just, but as a republic, we cannot bow down before your crowns; though we have no rulers who claim the divine right to govern and oppress, and are not in the league of hereditary autocrats bedizened with costly robes and bejeweled scepters, yet this is a nation composed of brain and brawn, that recognizes the sovereignty of justice and citizenship only." This is Mr. Blaine's policy, briefly outlined.

The people of this republic are proud of it, and believe in it. They hate to see themselves in an apologetic attitude, or eating humble pie. They love to see America represented at foreign courts by men who are out-and-out Americans—men with no hankering after aristocracy or royalty; men who feel that they have fifty millions of freemen behind them. For the enemies of Blaine to attack him on the ground that his foreign policy would be "risky," will not harm him in the eyes of the people. There is very

little danger of war where men are simply firm and positive in asserting the right. The danger lies in the timidity which suffers aggression to the point where it becomes unendurable.

We do not want war; all our interests favor peace, in that further acquisition of territory is not desired, and our remote position from other powers gives us exemption from the necessity of cultivating the art of fighting. This fact is well understood and appreciated, but to remain insensible to honor by allowing any infraction of our rights is to court contempt and avarice and internecine spirit, which might destroy our independence and invite invasion. Mr. Blaine does not stand with a chip on his shoulder, daring any power to knock it off, but my individual conception of his character is, that were he President, and sixteen of the noble, liberty-loving subjects of our country should be taken, and, without trial or notice, shot down within the walls of Moro Castle, he would demand *some* explanation from the government that murdered them. I believe that he would apply such prompt and energetic measures that Virginian massacres would become decidedly unpopular to the nations that attempted them on American subjects. I believe that Mr. Blaine, were he President, would demand the release, or the reason for the detention, of a poor Jew who, having entered Siberia without a formal passport, through ignorance of Russia's requirements, and charged with no crime, has been pining in that bleak and far-off waste for two years, unable to get this country, of which he is a sovereign, to consider his case. In short, I believe that Mr. Blaine is such a thorough Republican, and so full of the pride of a noble ancestry that toiled through the smoke and carnage of revolution to found a government of and for the

people, that he would render secure, in every part of the world, the rights of every American subject; that he would make our form of government respected, because it deserves respect.

These guarantees, which are promised in our constitution, but honored in the breach, should attract every class, of all nationalities, the German, the Irish, the French, as well as the American born, because protection is the chief object of all governments, and without it there is no bond of union.

The Hon. Emory Storrs, in a speech delivered in Cincinnati at the grand ratification held there June 14th, defined Mr. Blaine's foreign policy in the following glowing language:

This brings me, gentlemen, to a consideration quite briefly of our own candidate—the history of James G. Blaine. [Great applause.] This is and will be no defensive campaign. Have no anxiety whatever about that. This old powder has been burned once, and the tattoos which we see upon him are the inscriptions of splendid achievements, placed there by an admiring people, who have elevated him away above the slanders and detractions of his enemies, and will place him in the most commanding position of the nation which he has done so much to honor. [Roars of applause.] Why, the brokers of Wall street are afraid of Mr. Blaine's foreign policy. With shuddering fear, with quivering lip and trembling nerve, mention a foreign policy and they instantly hie to their fortifications and their earthworks. What kind of a foreign policy is it? What kind of a foreign policy does our platform demand? What kind of a foreign policy do you require? What kind of a foreign policy do you want? What kind of a foreign policy do the emergencies and necessities of the nation absolutely and imperatively exact? We are not respected abroad. I say we should be. [Applause.] We are unrespected at home. I say this should not be. [Renewed applause.] I want no

war. I want long summer days of prosperous peace. I know of but one way to secure them, and that is promptly and at once to place ourselves in such a position that insult or assault can be so readily resented that neither will ever be made. [Tumultuous applause.] When we are made the sport of every foreign power, when we have not adequate seaport defences, we invite assault. We stand a great big, hulky, sturdy nation, with our hands helplessly by our side, utterly unable not only to protect our interests elsewhere in the world, but utterly unable to defend and justify ourselves at home. The condition is one of shame, indignity and outrage upon ourselves, that every spirited American will rejoice to see at once corrected. I want something more than this. Now, I am speaking merely for myself. I am binding nobody.

The time has come when the old notion of our insularity and freedom from alliances with foreign powers must cease. We are to-day six days from Europe. Nearer, much nearer, than Cincinnati was to New York fifty years ago. We have trade with every part of the world. We have our products in every civilized land beneath the sun. Our commercial interests are all over the globe. There is not a gun-boat over which the flag of this great nation floats, adequate to defend an insulted American in the meanest seaport of the smallest nation on the face of the earth! ("Good" and applause.) Moreover (I may be radical), the time has come, it is full upon us, without meaning any war, that the old, old theory of non-intervention must be exploded. We are interested in what is going on all over the world. Our trade must be protected and cared for wherever it extends. That nation is unfit to be called a nation which will not defend the imperiled rights of its citizens at home or abroad, wherever they are assaulted. [Great applause.] I give to my country allegiance; I recognize its laws; I obey loyally and willingly on all occasions, wherever obedience is required. I expect protection, and when my government fails to give it to me, it is my right to take its constitution in my hand, and say, "You blustering, bullying, bragging, non-perform-

ing fraud of a government, protect me as you have agreed to do or quit business.” [Great applause.] There is no war in this. Moreover, I don’t want to see the butter and the cheese and the wool of Ohio go to Brazil by the way of Liverpool. [Applause.] The route is too circuitous. I want to see it go straight from Cincinnati or Cleveland, to its South American destination, bearing the stamp of the eagle, rather than by circuitous way, twisted by the way of Liverpool, and bearing the fraudulent mark of the lion and unicorn. Now, gentlemen, that does not mean war. That is James G. Blaine. That is his foreign policy. That is my foreign policy. That is your foreign policy. This is the foreign policy of every solid, level-headed, right-thinking man in America, who is not a broker, and who is not on the wrong side of the market.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Mr. Blaine, in private life, is a man of wonderful magnetism, undoubtedly greater than that of any other man seen in public life during the last quarter of a century. He has a phenomenal memory. He remembers circumstances, dates, names and places readily, and it is this wonderfully available memory that makes him a ready speaker and a charming companion. He has, also, great quickness and accuracy of judgment. He writes as readily and as strongly as he speaks, and very rapidly. Mr. Blaine is slightly above the average height, and burly in form. His hair is nearly white, and thin on top, and his beard is not heavy. He has a fair but not imposing head. Large at the base, his perceptive and emotional faculties overpower those of reason. His figure is well preserved, he dresses with care, and is of handsome person. He has made use of no means to conceal the ravages time and anxieties have made on his hair, and wears it close cut, the color making all the more noticeable his dark eyes, which glitter and flash with temper, or glow lustrous and beam forth amiably, as the mood is on him.

His home has been the resort of the most intellectual people of the age in this country. There is nothing about him of that assumption of aristocratic exclusiveness so common among public men. His home is well, and even elegantly, furnished, but it is all made for use, and not for mere display. It is there that he is seen at his best, and his power comes largely from his faculty of winning the affection of men by epigrammatic speech, his easy manners, and his

uniform, unaffected good nature. He knows how to unbend at all times, without any of those patronizing airs so common in society with men who have succeeded. Few men in either party have left his presence without strong and pleasant memories of the vigorous character which he possesses.

Mr. Blaine is now in his fifty-fifth year. Although above medium height, he is so compactly and powerfully built that he scarcely seems tall. His features are large and expressive; he is slightly bald, and his neatly trimmed beard is prematurely gray; his brows are lowering—his eyes keen. On the floor of Congress he manifested wonderful power and nerve. His voice is rich and melodious; his delivery is fluent and vigorous; his gestures are full of grace and force; his self-possession is remarkable.

Mr. Blaine has always manifested great earnestness, and his record shows the purity of thought and intent which has actuated him. A most violent and virulent opposition paper, the *New York Times*, says of him:

On the floor he was an advocate of measures calculated to promote the purity and efficiency of the public service. In 1868 he introduced a resolution intended to prevent and punish frauds upon the revenue, and in previous sessions he spoke ably against extravagant salaries. He lived up to his record in 1873 by vigorously opposing the salary increase bill, and in the Speaker's chair struck out the proposed increase of his own salary.

Another opposition paper, the *Washington Post*, pays him a deserved compliment in the following language:

In looking back over Mr. Blaine's public career, most people will be impressed with the brilliancy of his service in Congress and his remarkable administrative ability as Secretary of State. It was in the House of Representatives,

as a turbulent leader of a turbulent minority, or the autocratic Speaker elected by an autocratic majority, that he made his reputation. Never taking part in the discussion of abstract subjects, he reserved his eloquence for occasions when parliamentary ability was in demand. In partisan debates on general matters, in dogmatic assertion, keen wit, withering sarcasm and overpowering denunciation, he has had few if any equals in this country. No one could stand before him, and the man who crossed swords with him once on the floor rarely tried it again. As a member of the Cabinet he was aggressive, tireless in his activity and patriotic enthusiasm. If elected President, he will unquestionably make one of the greatest Executives the country has ever had.

Thus the great mind, generous, magnanimous and powerful compass of Mr. Blaine's intelligence and action, compel the admiration of all classes, even during a spirited campaign, when contumely is expected to supply the pen of rivalry.

Mr. Blaine has six children—three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, John Walker, born in 1855, is a graduate of Yale and of the Columbia College Law School, and for some time studied in St. Paul, in the law office of Gov. Davis. The second son, Robert Emmons, born 1857, was sent to the Cambridge Law School and there graduated. James G. Blaine, Jr., born in 1868, is said to be very like his father. The daughters are Alice, born in 1860, Margaret, born 1865, and Harriet, born 1872. All the children have received superior training. John Walker Blaine, the eldest son, is a graduate of Yale, where he made a good record. He is a bright lawyer, a good linguist and a polished man of society. One of the last acts of Garfield was to make him Third Assistant Secretary of State. He is now one of the counsel for the United States before the French

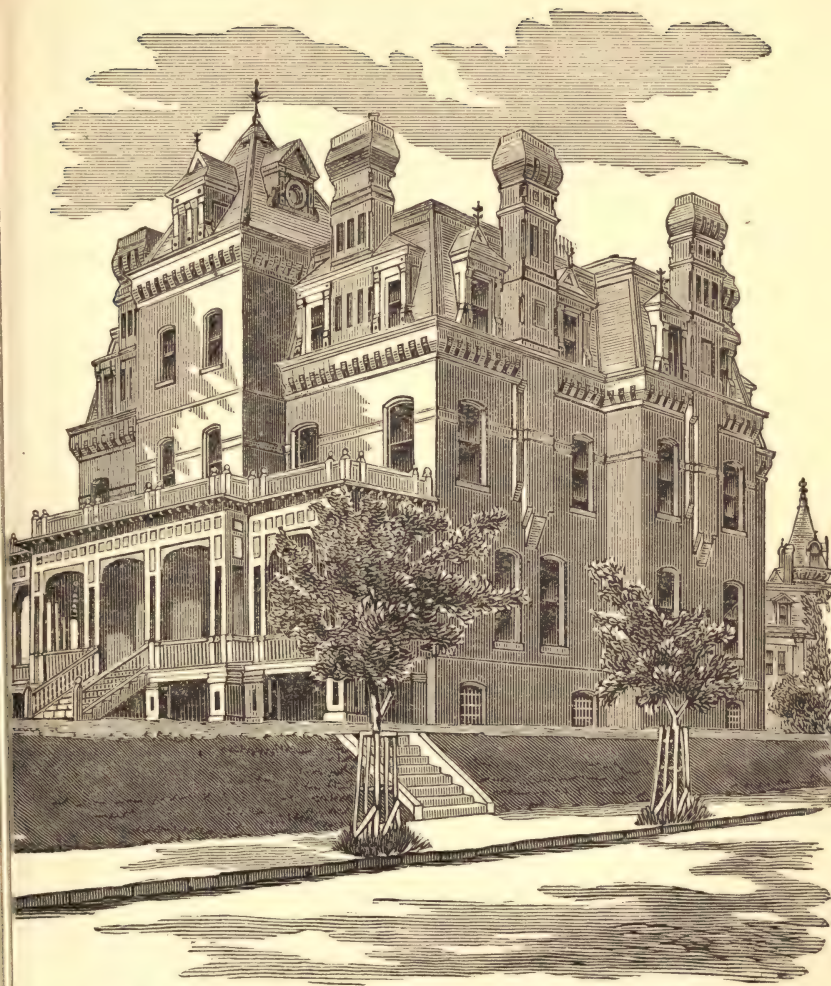
Claims Commission. Emmons Blaine, another son, is in a railroad office in Chicago, and is doing well. During the campaign Walker is acting as one of the secretaries to his father. Mr. Blaine's eldest daughter is the wife of Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel John J. Coppinger, U. S. A., stationed at Ft. Assinaboine, Mont.; his next eldest has only recently made her *debut* in Washington society. All the children are finely educated and show to advantage for bright intelligence in the highest circles. In his domestic life Mr. Blaine is peculiarly happy; it has been his policy to add every possible effort towards making home happy for himself, family and friends. Among his children he was ever a romping boy, full of fun, ready for any enjoyment or game they might propose. Like Daniel Webster, Mr. Blaine could readily bend himself from the dignity of a lofty statesman, appealing to the passions of a nation, to a position of humiliating attitude on the floor of his home, with two children riding "double" on his back. The swish of a rod was never heard in his house, nor did he or Mrs. Blaine resort to invective reprimands, but governed with mildness and love; as a consequence, the family have lived in such perfect harmony that their home has ever been a place of complete happiness.

After Mr. Blaine's third election to Congress, he removed his family, then consisting of a wife and two children, to Washington, where he rented an unpretentious residence on Ninth street, near the Patent Office. In 1869, after his election to the Speakership, Mr. Blaine moved into a larger and more comfortable house on Fifteenth street, near McPherson's Square, where he continued to reside until 1880, when he built a beautiful residence in the north-west end of Washington, its exact location fronting Dupont Circle, at

the junction of Massachusetts avenue and P street. It is one of the finest, if not indeed the finest residence in Washington City, costing, exclusive of the site it occupies, ninety thousand dollars.

Mr. Blaine occupied his beautiful residence only a few months, when he rented it to Mr. Leiter, the Chicago millionaire, and took a small house on Lafayette square. Mr. Blaine and his wife are too democratic in their desires to find happiness in a costly mansion reflecting the grandeur of riches and potentiality. Mrs. Blaine felt worried while in the palace thus built for her, the keeping up of which required many servants and the expenditure of much money, and their removal to a modest, but comfortable, homelike residence restored them both to happiness again.

Mr. Blaine was not a poor man when he entered Congress in 1863, and he is not a millionaire now. For twenty years he has owned a valuable coal tract of several hundred acres near Pittsburg. This land was a portion of the immense tract owned by his father, and was all that was saved from the estate. It was the good fortune of Mr. Blaine to discover coal on this tract, which has yielded him a large revenue annually. His business affairs have been managed with prudence and shrewdness, and he now has a handsome fortune. His home in Augusta is a plain two-story house, having facilities specially provided for the work which was thrust upon him by his nomination to the Presidency. The house is delightfully situated, built for comfort and convenience, and roomy enough to allow comfortable study and writing rooms, without encroaching on the other apartments. The building itself appears originally to have been a square, solidly-built structure of two stories. Through it ran the wide hallway still used, and, both above and below, were



HON. J. G. BLAINE'S NEW RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON CITY.

(From a Photograph taken expressly for this work.)

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large and airy rooms, which cannot yet be improved upon. Additions have been built to the rear of the house as the needs of the family made them necessary, and to-day it looks rambling, comfortable and homelike, instead of handsome architecturally. Around it is a handsome lawn, closely cropped, and just at present beautiful with the green of early summer. Shade trees are scattered over it, and bushes and flowers tastefully decorate it here and there. Opposite is the old State House, where Mr. Blaine, before the war, served in the Legislature, and where he won his first distinction.

Mr. Blaine receives his visitors sometimes in the large and elegant library, where most of his time is spent, though he is not so systematic that his hours or place of study may not be disturbed by callers, for he delights in company, in which he is a charming talker and courteous listener. The reception-room, where most of his visitors are shown, is at the right of the large hall. Behind it, with windows opening on the lawn, is the dining-room. On the other side of the hall the parlors, handsomely furnished and pleasant, occupy the front of the house. In the extension back of them is Mr. Blaine's library. Nearly straight across from the library doorway is another library, occupied just as often and having much the same look of a general literary workshop. Mr. Blaine occupies no one place in his work. At one hour he may be found at one of his desks; at another he is some place else, working as vigorously as before. His reception-room is even made to do service in his habit of working every place, and in the early morning often it is almost impassable from the piles of letters and papers spread upon the floor.

Mr. Blaine is a man of great charity, which he performs without ostentation, and most generally disguises his charitable acts to avoid public mention of them. Several institutions of his State have received munificent benefactions from him, and for relieving the poor of Augusta he is famous. The generous nature which he inherited, and has since cultivated, is not confined within narrow channels, but broad-spreading and thoroughly humanitarian, regardless of creed or profession. Though Mr. Blaine is a Congregationalist, he contributes with a liberal hand to other denominations, and it may be truthfully said that there has not been a church erected in his town during the past twenty years but what has been largely assisted by his contributions. But not only to churches do his benefactions extend, for the pale face of poverty and distress finds in his heart an ever-throbbing impulse to give relief, and a generous hand to provide comforts. But Blaine is not a bigot, but a Christian, who believes not only in precept, but example as well.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

It is scarcely less than astonishing with what total disregard politicians review the private life of candidates, making public investigations of their religion, domestic influences, and all the sacred surroundings of family privacies. Should these invasions fail to reveal some skeleton of discord or inconsistency, the creatures who thus violate all honor and decorum never fail to report some obliquity which they clothe with hideous aspect, and send the imp upon a mission of evil.

The report is flaunted that Mr. Blaine is a Catholic. Well, if he were a Catholic, does it follow that his religion is proof of his turpitude? The cry is raised, too, that he is a prohibitionist. Well, does the sentiment of prohibition imply that he is a dishonest man, and unworthy to hold the position of President? Are there not thousands of good, earnest, honest Catholics, and are there not thousands of conscientious Christian prohibitionists? The President of this nation cannot legislate in favor of Catholicism or prohibition. Geo. Washington was a High Church Episcopalian, and yet, as President, he never increased either the membership or influence of that church. Lincoln was an Agnostic, but he never talked Agnosticism while in the Executive office, having always respect and regard for popular religious sentiment. Gen. Grant is a Methodist, but that church never profited particularly while he was President. And so we have Prohibitionists, Spiritualists, and other ists and isms, but none of them can thrive by reason of the election of a President who adheres to their doctrine.

But Mr. Blaine is neither a Catholic nor a Prohibitionist, which makes him neither better nor worse than if he were both. His mother was a Catholic, and Mr. Blaine has too much respect for the memory of a loving, generous, blessed mother, to decry the faith in which she died. This is but another evidence of his chivalrous manhood. His own adherence is to Congregationalism, which is only a mild type of Presbyterianism. He is considerate enough, however, to acknowledge that his mother's faith may have been the correct one, while believing that, as a Congregationalist, he comes nearer to fulfilling such obedience as he conceives is enjoined by his Bible.

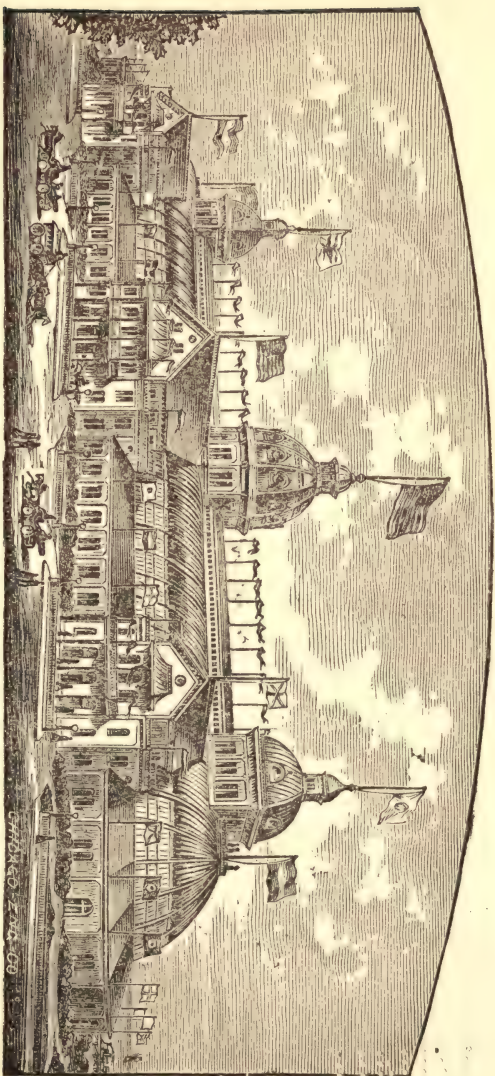
Speaking of the statement that he was a Roman Catholic in religion, Mr. Blaine wrote to a friend in 1876:

"The charge is very provoking, considering that the motive that inspires it, and very exasperating when I see it connived at, if not, in fact, originated by men who sat with me in a Presbyterian Bible class. The charge is part and parcel of the tactics of the Cameron gang to rob me of the Pennsylvania delegates, when, in fact, four-fifths of the Republicans of the State desire my nomination."

Concerning the religious faith of his family and his own attitude in religious matters, Mr. Blaine wrote in later life—March 10, 1876, as follows:

"My ancestors on my father's side, were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word

EXPOSITION BUILDING, CHICAGO, WHERE THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION WAS HELD.



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of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them."

The Kennebec Journal (Augusta, Me.) about this time said, on the same subject, that "Mr. Blaine has been for nearly twenty years a consistent member of the Orthodox Congregational Church, in this, the city of his home. Orthodox Congregationalism, in Maine, is precisely the same creed as Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania."

The following interview appeared in the *Three Towns*, a weekly journal published in Brownsville, Mr. Blaine's birthplace, April 11th, '84:

Having heard various statements as to the religious affiliations of Hon. James G. Blaine, and, in particular, Father Lambert's statement as to his name being on the baptismal register of St. Peter's Church, Brownsville, a *Three Towns* reporter waited on Rev. Thos. McEnrue, the present incumbent of the parish, with a view to ascertaining the truth, so far as he knew. Although interrupted in a post-prandial nap, the genial priest gave the reporter a most hospitable welcome, and expressed his willingness to give him any information he possessed. "But," added he, "I am afraid I do not possess any. The register of that time was removed by Father McGuire, and, I think, was burned in the fire at St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburg. Certainly it is not here, and I think it is not in existence."

"You have no information from other sources on the subject?"

"None. Of course you know that Mr. Blaine's mother was a staunch member of the church?"

"Yes, I know that. What about the father?"

"From all that I can learn, he was a man indifferent to religious affairs, but he became a communicant about five years before his death."

"Did James G. Blaine ever show his appreciation of the church here by contributing anything to it in any way?"

“‘Not to my knowledge.’”

The Rev. E. R. Donahue, pastor of the Eighth Presbyterian Church, of Pittsburg, tells the following story of how he learned that Mr. Blaine was not a Catholic:

“It was on a Pan-handle train, on my way out to Washington,” said he. “It was commencement time, and I was going to attend a re-union of my class. I happened to occupy a seat with a distinguished-looking man, whose appearance attracted me the moment I saw him. He was an entire stranger to me. I had never seen him before; as we rode along we got to talking. ‘You are a native of Washington county?’ he said. I told him that I was, and he added, ‘I thought I recognized your face. If I am not mistaken, I knew your father,’ and then he inquired my name. I told him, and he said that he knew my father well.

“He described his appearance to me, and said that he was a tall and remarkably straight man. This excited my curiosity; I asked him what his name was, and found for the first time that I was talking to James G. Blaine. My father was County Commissioner in Washington county at the time when his father was Prothonotary. They had an office adjoining each other in the same building, and were fast friends. My father was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. Stockton, one of the finest preachers in Washington county, was pastor. Mr. Blaine spoke of Dr. Stockton, and asked me if he was still living. He inquired after a number of the old families, and manifested a great curiosity to know whether the people still stuck to the old forms of worship and the lines of faith and doctrines that were held when he was a boy. In talking about this, he showed a great familiarity with the church and its doctrines, and I inferred that he must have made a study of it when he was a boy. I told him that the people were strict as ever in their belief.

“After a while I asked him if he was a Presbyterian. He replied, ‘Yes, I am a Presbyterian in faith, but not in name. ‘My wife and I are members of the Congregational

Church in Maine, which practically has the same doctrine and system as the Presbyterian Church.' We talked for some time fully and freely, and he expressed himself in the clearest and most unequivocal terms."

"'You won't dispute my orthodoxy,' he said, 'when I tell you I have named my son here after Dr. Emmons,' and he introduced me to his two sons who were in the next seat.

"'At that time there was a warm discussion about eternal punishment. Cannon Farrar's book on 'Eternal Hope' had just appeared, and Mr. Blaine was very much interested in it. 'You may possibly have an idea,' he said, 'that we in Washington, because we are engaged in politics, are interested only in temporal and worldly affairs, but it is not so. It would surprise you to know how much questions of this kind are studied there, and studied seriously too. If there is anything in which I feel as if I am off the original lines it is in this: I think there is a ground for hope that there will be restitution in the far future for those who are not saved.'"

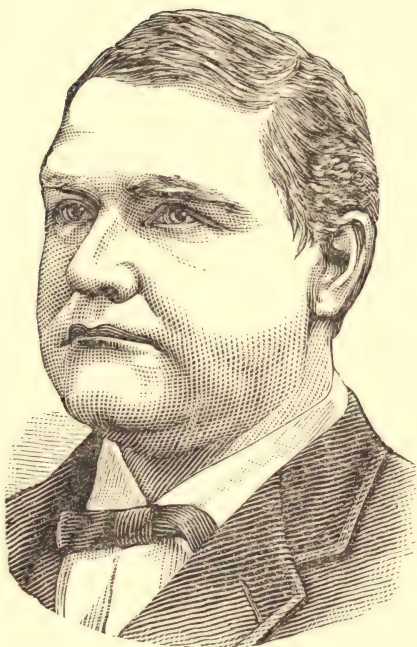
The incontrovertible testimony which is here given, completely disproving the assertion of Mr. Blaine's Catholicism, will hardly prevent a continued circulation of the report, for since it was conceived in the brain of enmity it will continue to be promulgated by the tongue of deceit and slander. I am led to this belief by the fact that all the charges of corruption made against him have been met by, as thorough disproof, and yet the opposition press is still gorged with repetitions of the same outrageous falsehoods. There is nothing negative about Mr. Blaine. You cannot remain neutral with him. You are either very much for him or very much against him. Even his enemies who fight him the hardest admire his brilliant abilities. Mr. Blaine is himself a fighter who thrives on opposition.

As a conversationalist Mr. Blaine has few equals. He has a keen appreciation of fun, and can tell a story with a

wonderful simplicity. There is no dragging prelude, no verbose details preceding a stupid finale. The story is presented always dramatically and fired almost as if from a gun when the point is reached. Mr. Blaine's ability to entertain a private circle as well as a public audience shows that he has great powers as an actor.

The dinner-table in the Blaine house is the place where the gayest of good-natured chaff rules. From 6 to 8 the dinner speeds under cover of running talk upon the incidents of the day. Mr. Blaine is very happy in his family. None of his children appear to regard him as more than a big brother. Unless called out by a dinner or some social gathering, Mr. Blaine is always at home. He belongs to no club, and keeps more to himself than a man of his social instincts might be expected to do. He does not even play the game of poker, which is so general an accomplishment with public men. He has nothing of the reputation of a Puritan, but in reality his private life is as irreproachable as the most rigid moralist could ask. He is one of the few men in public life whose name has never been coupled in the most indirect way with any intrigues with women. Out in society he is a gallant admirer of the fair sex, but there is yet to be breathed against him the first word of scandal in this direction. He is a very temperate man at the table. He occasionally drinks a glass of wine, but he never joined the whiskey-drinking ranks in either the House or the Senate.

Mr. Blaine once said to a visitor that he was richer than any of the so-called millionaires of the day, because he had all that he wanted. He is not an avaricious man. He is not niggardly in his expenditures, neither is he lavish. He seems to have joined to the liberal and hospitable free-



STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

(Mr. Blaine's most effective supporter in the Chicago Convention.)

handedness of the West the conservative carefulness of the East. His style of living at Washington has always been comfortable, never extravagant. His carriages and his horses would never attract notice anywhere, while at the same time they are plenty good enough for any gentleman to use. In his manners, Mr. Blaine is essentially a democrat. He never yet in any of the various periods of his career has shown any pride of place.

The Rev. J. H. Ecob, an intimate friend of Mr. Blaine's, for ten years pastor of the church in Augusta which Mr. Blaine attends, though now of Albany, N. Y., has written for general publication the following tribute to the noble qualities of the Republican standard bearer:

"I have known Mr. Blaine since 1872. During nearly ten years of that time I was pastor of the church in Augusta of which Mr. and Mrs. Blaine are members. The satisfaction I take in his nomination is based upon such knowledge of him as only a pastor can gain. I believe that I am too true a Republican, and I know that my conception of citizenship is too high, to permit me to ratify the exaltation of any man whose character has not the true ring. I have been very near to Mr. Blaine, not only in the most trying political crises, but in the sharper trial of great grief in the household, and have never yet detected a false note. I would not be understood as avowing too much for human nature. I mean that as I have known him he has stood loyally by his convictions; that his word has always had back of it a clear purpose, and that purpose has always been worthy of the highest manhood. In his house he was always the soul of geniality and good heart. It was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without. And not only his 'rich neighbors and kinsmen' welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special Providence. In the church he is honored and beloved. The good old New England custom of church-

going with all the guests is enforced strictly in the Blaine household. Whoever is under his roof, from President down, is expected to be with the family at church. Fair weather or foul, those pews were always well filled. Not only his presence on Sabbath but his influence, his wise counsels, his purse are freely devoted to the interest of the noble Old South Church of Augusta. The hold which Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts or magnetism; the secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding. I have absolute knowledge that in 1880 he did not lift a finger to influence the Convention. He was quietly at home devoting himself to his business affairs and steadfastly refused even the entreaties of his own family to interest himself in behalf of the nomination. I, for one, shall put my conscience into my vote next November."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Mr. Blaine is now in the prime of a vigorous manhood. He is 54 years of age. His once shattered health is completely restored. His eyes are now as keen and clear as when he was an impulsive, mischievous boy, while his voice is as ringing, deep and strong as in his palmiest days as an orator. Retired from active politics now for over two years, he has gained by the change. Instead of dropping into the obscurity where falls the average public man relegated to private life, he has held his own in the public mind as no statesman ever has before, without the artificial aid of official position. Instead of resting in his privacy, Mr. Blaine, with the energy of genius, immediately discovered a new field to conquer. In the hard and untried path of literature he has accomplished, in the brief period of one year, as brilliant a success as has ever fallen to his lot in politics.

In April last Mr. Blaine presented to the public the first volume of his "Twenty Years of Congress," a work that is to cover, when completed, the period from Lincoln to Garfield, with a review of the events which led to the political revolution of 1860. This work is in fact a biography of the American people, everything—abstract questions and individuals—being subordinated in the effort to produce a clear and strong picture of the life of the nation. The thoughts of the people, as they varied from year to year, their times of indecision and darkness, of swift insight and heroic resolution; their days of timidity and weak compromising with wrong, and their grand endurance and unflinch-

ing fidelity when the crisis at last brought duty clearly before them ; their singular sagacity in decisions of vital moment—all these are portrayed in Mr. Blaine's narrative, with clearness and power. The story he tells in his first volume is given with the simplicity and compactness of a trained journalist, and yet with sufficient fullness to make the picture distinct and clear in almost every detail. The book is as easy to read as a well-written novel ; it is clear and interesting, and commands the attention throughout, the more for the absence of anything like oratorical display or forensic combativeness.

In its main features Mr. Blaine's history is one of universal value. In literary polish it is not beyond criticism, though occasional infelicities of expression and instances of carelessness do not outweigh the general clearness and force of style. It is not at all points unerring in portraiture, nor infallible in judgment, though the writer's impartiality of spirit and desire to be just, are conspicuous, and he gives cogent reasons for opinions expressed. But in broad and comprehensive appreciation of the forces by which the development of public opinion has been affected, the work is one of great merit. The arrangement of the first volume favors the compact and intelligent treatment of a many-sided subject. Chapters I-VIII, review the main question from which grew the civil war and the political revolution of 1860. Many of the questions with which Congress afterward had to deal could not have been treated wisely by lawgivers, nor intelligently by the historian, except in the light of the double conflict between the slave power and anti-slavery, hostile political forces. By careful tracing of the causes which had made slavery what it was, and public opinion in regard to slavery what it was, the history of the

war is rendered far more compact and clear. Closely allied with the main cause of war, the tariff question is reviewed in Chapter IX. Chapter X opens with the election of 1860, and the events of the marvelous history "From Lincoln to Garfield" are there unfolded, mainly in chronological order. But Chapters XVIII to XIX are devoted to the financial history of the war, the levying of taxes and the creation of legal tender notes. In Chapter XXIV the United States banks and the State banks of the anti-war period are contrasted with the National banking system, and its creation is described. The admission of West Virginia is considered in Chapter XXI, and in the last chapter, XXII, the relations between the United States and foreign powers during the war. An appendix of forty-four pages embraces statistics of interest and value.

Within a stone's throw of the White House, upon the west side of the historic Lafayette Square, Mr. Blaine spent the winter. He occupied Gen. Marcy's house, a plain, substantial brick, with a bow-windowed front and a mansard roof. It is the same row once occupied by Gen. Sickles. The second story of this house is Mr. Blaine's work-room. Its front windows have the sun during the early part of the day. It is a very informal-looking work-room. Across the end nearest the window is a long table, littered with books and papers, in about the order one would find upon the desk of a working editor. The rest of the furniture is that of a plain bed-room, for this working-room by day is the sleeping-room of Mr. and Mrs. Blaine at night. Its windows command a sweep of the park, and also take in a glimpse of the White House, a cool, white spot in the landscape, upon which the gaze of the working historian has often dreamily rested in the pauses of his work.

Here he has worked with his secretary, with persistent energy, absorbed in his work. Most of the best parts of the book have been written with Mr. Blaine's own hand. He believes that dictation can be only successfully employed for pure narrative, and that to compose anything in the way of an essay, or in the line of pure thought, to attain the higher range of literature, the author must write with his own hand, if he is seeking to create a work which is to live. Mr. Blaine has worked as steadily at his self-imposed task as ever did Anthony Trollope upon his daily work, though he believes that the writing of 1,500 words is a good day's work. More than this he has not averaged, although he has at times spurted up to the limit of 8,000 words, with the aid of his secretaries. His average day's work was not more than an ordinary newspaper column.

When Mr. Blaine was first retired to private life, he thought some of going back to his old editorial work. But then the cost of a metropolitan newspaper, and the doubtful possibilities connected with it, made him hesitate. He thought also of a political weekly, but it was the history which finally captured his mind. With the modest investment required for the purchase of several quarts of ink, numerous reams of paper, and boxes of pens and the labor of five or six hours a day, for nearly two years, Mr. Blaine will realize what, even in these days, must be regarded as a handsome fortune.

The work upon the book has made a great draft upon Mr. Blaine's physical resources, but, with a brief vacation, he has gone rapidly to work upon the second volume. This he will have completed by the first of next December, notwithstanding the attention which he will be compelled to give to the campaign. The matter for this second volume is al-

ready far advanced, and his energetic industry will no doubt enable him to keep his contract with his publishers. He has found a strange pleasure in writing this book. He has been all his life, since his college days, a student of American history. There is no man in public or private life to-day who is so thoroughly familiar with the growth and progress of his own country as Mr. Blaine. His memory is a marvelous one. He retains without difficulty everything that he reads, and rarely errs in his historical allusions. It is a matter of great pride with him that the first volume of his history has not as yet had any of its facts questioned. It is his idea that a man who writes history should have no other object than the honest recital of the facts connected with the period which he is seeking to describe. Where history is written with a certain object in view, the history itself is too apt to be colored to be of value to the impartial student. Mr. Blaine thinks that the one fault of the brilliant and great Macaulay's History of England is that it was written with the object of sustaining the Whig party. He has tried in his work to have no object in view beyond giving an impartial record of the period covered by his history. Originally he had an idea of writing his memoirs. This would have given an opportunity for a closer record of personal observation, and would also have given room for a lighter vein of treatment. With his strong descriptive powers, his excellent knowledge of men, his memory for even the gossips of his time, his memoirs would have possessed extraordinary interest. It is possible that Mr. Blaine may yet write such a book.

CHAPTER XXX.

Social accomplishments are an inseparable adjunct to official life in Washington, and since the mistress of the White House is accorded the position of "first lady in the land," Mrs. Blaine's qualifications for social leadership, are at once matters for consideration. Since Buchanan's administration there has not been a brilliant lady in charge of the White House; indeed, the leaders of society in Washington, during all that time, have either been the wives of Cabinet officers or members of wealthy families, who court prominence and buy it regardless of price. To speak unreservedly and honestly, it is no exaggeration to say that Washington society has become emboldened until its proprieties are not to be defined; the old-time democratic etiquette of the White House and its departmental accessories, have become so changed that now none but dudes, dandies, and dainty damsels of wealth and royal mannerisms grace receptions, where once were wont to gather the wit and wisdom of our really noble people.

Mr. Blaine has about him that which commands respect from all classes; his social relations are eminently commendable, free from that vapidity which now distinguishes and un-Americanizes Washington society; and yet he has none of the affectations of a pedant. In short, Mr. Blaine and his amiable, highly-cultured wife, are the ideal, old-time, thorough democrats. Mr. Blaine is one of the people, ~~claiming~~ ^{insisting} no pre-eminence to himself, one whose administration cannot but prove most wholesome and elevating. The unobtrusive, yet dignified ways of Mr. Blaine,

OLD BLAINE HOMESTEAD, WEST BROWNSVILLE, PA., WHERE BLAINE SPENT HIS BOYHOOD.



10. 11. 1915
11. 11. 1915

are like the current of a deep stream, bearing richly laden argosies on its bosom, as compared with the shallow, babbling, social brooklet of previous administrations which have so materially assisted in the establishment of an aristocracy inimical to our institutions.

Mrs. Blaine is a lady somewhat retiring in disposition, and disposed to have comparatively few intimates, but this characteristic is very becoming to a President's wife, especially so to Mrs. Blaine, who is dignified, yet courteous, and a queenly woman, with no trace of affectation. Her association has, from infancy, been with people of learning, and she was given every advantage that was obtainable in her school days. In consequence of these opportunities, she became a lady of marked grace and accomplishment, suited to the society of the intellectual, rather than the fashionable. As mistress of the White House, her influence would tend to the elevation of Washington society, by destroying the manifestly improper permissibilities which now distinguish it; she would reinstate the high *morale* which prevailed before the war, and root out the rude importations of English social vulgarisms. Mrs. Blaine, like her husband, is a thorough American, cherishing our institutions, and having no ambition to either court the favor of royalty or to adopt the pretensions of lordly patricians.

The wives of the two Republican candidates for President and Vice-President, while almost the opposite to each other in traits of character, have some points of resemblance in appearance, though no one who knew either would ever mistake one for the other. Both have perfectly white hair, and thick suits of it, florid complexions and about the same height and weight, each being a little stout but with a compact and stately figure. Apparently they are near the

same age. Each appears to advantage in a crowd of other women of the types usually met in society, and would probably be singled out by strangers as ladies of special distinction from their bearing. It is so long since any Vice-President has had a wife that many in Washington have remarked since the nomination, how valuable an assistant in her social duties Mrs. Blaine will find in Mrs. Logan, if their husbands are elected.

If Mrs. Blaine has any taste for politics she has never shown it in the same way as Mrs. Logan has done, by taking an active part personally in any of her husband's campaigns. She invariably takes a keen interest in his success, and shows great disappointment when he is defeated, but always in a quiet way, never discussing either situation with any but intimate friends. Nor does she ever seek to add to her husband's popularity by an ingratiating manner in society, while Mrs. Logan never loses an opportunity to make friends by her suavity of manner and ready conversation with all who approach her. Mrs. Blaine appears rather to disdain to court public favor; while having a keen wit, she never hesitates to use the sharp weapons of sarcasm in social intercourse, never seeming to care who suffers by her caustic criticisms, being as free in making them on those in high positions as on any others of whom she in any way disapproves.

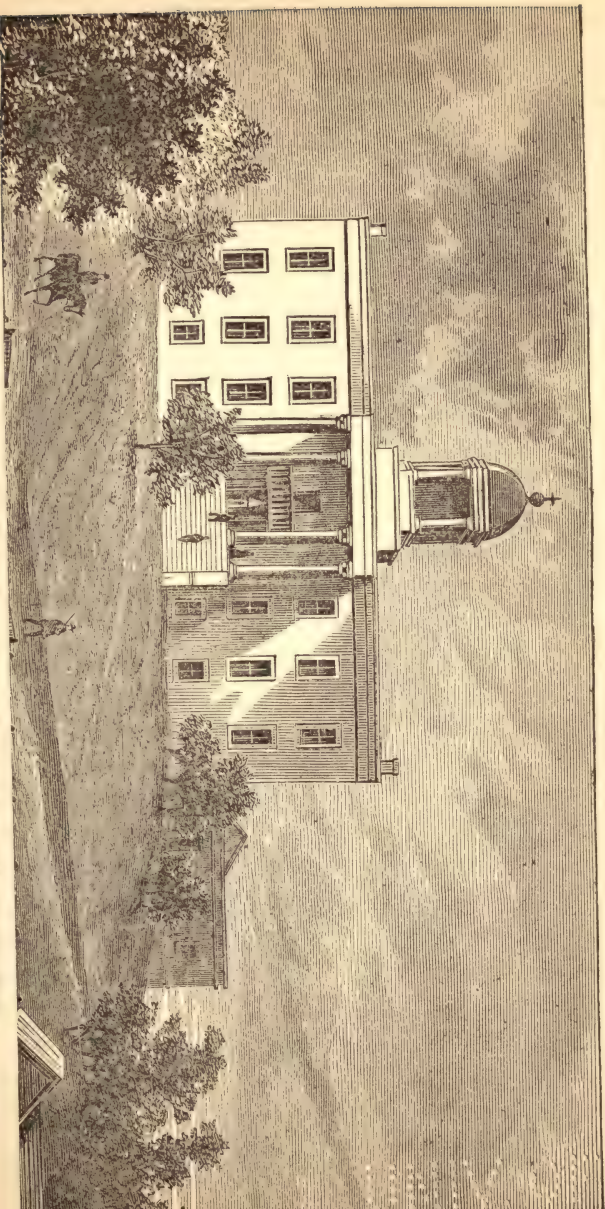
CHAPTER XXXI.

In concluding this biography of James G. Blaine, an expression of opinion from his townsmen, who have known him in all the walks of public and private life, is peculiarly appropriate. It has been said of old that "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and in the natural course of human eccentricities, which gave rise to the saying, to learn the faults of any man go ask his neighbors. The fact indicative of Mr. Blaine's popularity among his own people, is his repeated election to high office at their hands, and though he was called to legislative councils as early as 1854, by the votes of his neighbors, he has held office almost continually since that time, constantly rising in position and battling through fierce issues of great moment, yet never failing of victory. He has been an Ajax in every combat, and always overwhelmed his adversaries. These pointed facts attest Mr. Blaine's popularity, the great confidence reposed in him by those most familiar with his true character, and the real heart-friendship they bear for him.

Hon. J. L. Stephens, of Augusta, Me., who has been an intimate of Mr. Blaine's for thirty years, and for many years editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, has written me the following, complying with a request which I made asking for his opinion of the Maine statesman:

"I became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in 1855, and very soon after he became partner in the ownership and editorship of the *Kennebec Journal*. He at once struck me as a

young man of unusual powers, and thoroughly well stocked in that information necessary to a successful political editor and leader. He was exceedingly well versed in the political history of the country, and on general affairs of the government, and in all those details of civil administration necessary to a public man designing to play an important part in political affairs. He showed unusual powers of argument and logic. His style of writing was terse, incisive and strong. In dealing with the propositions as advocated by his own party, as well as those urged by his opponents, he had a remarkable facility for going at once to the core of the matter. The weak points in an adversary he was quick to perceive, and then he pushed his attack with an energy and boldness which always characterizes a successful advocate and partizan leader. He not only early exhibited unusual ability in special directions, but his mind was characterized by great facility of resource and a rapid insight into the different points and issues coming before the public for consideration. The advantages of his intellectual discipline, extensive historical reading, and a great familiarity with the best authorities, always gave him decided advantage in whatever controversy he engaged in. He read a large list of newspaper exchanges, and availed himself of the best articles in the literary reviews and magazines, with great rapidness and thoroughness. He would find out the best there was in the chief editorials of a number of newspapers and magazines with more rapidity and certainty than any person whose acquaintance I have ever shared. He had a very happy faculty, when conversing with individuals in private, or with a larger number of individuals in public, of relating anecdotes, incidents and historical facts, which illustrated, enforced,



WASHINGTON COLLEGE, WASHINGTON PA., WHERE BLAINE GRADUATED.

and made interesting his conversation and his arguments. He was always a favorite with the employes of the establishment, and with those persons who were accustomed to visit newspaper offices who desire the acquaintance of editors. Very soon after I made his acquaintance I was especially struck with the fact that he very rapidly made the acquaintance of the citizens, from the beginning, in the different sections of the State; and when he had once seen faces and known the names and become acquainted with their political associations and tendencies, he always remembered them thereafter. And thus he was enabled very soon to have a large number of personal acquaintances and friends where he had previously been a stranger.

His belief in the advocacy of the principles of the Republican party, and of its organization dates from his first entrance into the State as a permanent resident, late in 1854. How strongly he was attached to the leading principle of Republicanism was evinced by an interesting fact which came to my knowledge in 1855. It was at the period when the Free State men of Kansas were struggling against the border ruffians of Missouri for the establishment of free institutions in the territory which had been so recently opened to the slave holders and their agents, by the repeal of the Missouri compromise. It was at the time when the Free State men deemed it necessary to go in private to their friends in New England, or such as they thought might prove friends to them, to obtain pecuniary assistance, or perhaps other forms of sympathy necessary for them to hold their position against their threatening, armed, and audacious opponents. One of those agents of the Free State Association, a man of known reputation, came to Augusta, and sought counsel, sympathy and aid from the owners and editors of

the *Kennebec Journal*. Mr. Blaine evinced his warm interest in the contest on the soil of Kansas, and with prudence and energy contributed, so far as he was able, to the assistance of the struggling colonists on the hotly contested plains of Kansas. The same readiness and boldness with which he adapted himself to that exigency, has always characterized his advocacy and leadership in the Republican party to the present time. Bold and energetic in action, his course was then, as it has been since, characterized by prudence, care, and good judgment. But when decision was once reached, all obstacles in the path of success were obliged to give way. How completely he was accustomed to be absorbed in the duties of his editorial work, was often shown by striking illustrations. His pockets were crowded with numerous letters, rapidly read, and their import quickly comprehended; his hands and hat full of newspapers and clippings, he was a complete specimen of a man thoroughly in earnest in whatever enlisted his attention. To a person partially acquainted with him in the earlier years of my association with him, he often seemed a person of impulse and enthusiasm, not always carefully directed. But those really understanding him knew well that his energy and seeming impetuosity were directed by a well considered and carefully balanced determination. He rapidly looked on all sides of a question and saw at once and aimed directly at the bull's eye of common sense and practical expediency. He early struck me as a gentleman who would have succeeded in literature had he devoted himself to it exclusively, especially as a writer of historical essays and more elaborate works in history and general literature. His ready wit, his interesting stories and anecdotes, his keen appreciation of what most

men are thinking of, were constantly illustrated in various ways.

His personal magnetism was spontaneous, and as natural as the currents of air, or the flowing waters of the stream. I am safe in saying that all intelligent persons in the immediate vicinity of his home, in the county and State in which he has resided for nearly thirty years, would say that he has exhibited a constant growth in all the appointments which qualify a man for distinction and leadership of men, and successful statesmanship.

It is an important and interesting fact that those who know him best and have seen him most in private life, have been, and are, as a rule, the most strongly attached to him."

The following is a letter received from Mr. Joseph A. Homan, Esq., one of Augusta's most prominent citizens, and, for more than a quarter of a century, the next door neighbor of Mr. Blaine:

"I first became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in the fall of 1853. I met him, a young, tall and slightly built man, in the store of Mr. Sylvanus Caldwell, a cousin of Mrs. Blaine. He had recently come with his wife to this State, and was not then engaged in any particular business. My memory of him, as I first met him, is that he was remarkably keen and comprehensive in his knowledge of public and political affairs, and of public men. He had had some excellent opportunities for becoming acquainted with public men of the Southern and Middle States.

His knowledge at that time was remarkable. It was a characteristic of Mr. Blaine, always from my earliest knowledge of him, that he was remarkable in weighing and measuring men. His knowledge of the history of the country,

particularly its political history, was wonderful in a man of his years. He remained in Augusta. The following year he became connected with the *Kennebec Journal* as proprietor and editor. From the first number of the *Journal* that he edited, it was evident that a strong hand held the editorial pen. He was keen and sharp in his criticisms of the men and policy of the Democratic party. The paper was then a Whig paper. He had been born and educated in the Whig faith and was a strong partizan. He showed a remarkable ability in carrying on an aggressive warfare against the principles and policy of the Democratic party. He became very popular, especially among the young men of his party. He was noted for his readiness in conversation, and evinced a wonderful knowledge of the subjects on which he would write in the paper. He soon became an influential man in the party in the State. In 1856 Mr. Blaine was a delegate to the first National Republican Convention, held in Philadelphia, which nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency. On his return to Augusta, after the Convention, a ratification meeting was held in Meonian Hall. He was reluctantly persuaded to appear in the meeting and make a report of the proceedings. He then had never made a public speech in his life, notwithstanding his readiness in conversation, perfect command of language and every qualification required by a good speaker.

He seemed to have a fear of the idea of addressing an audience. After much persuasion, he consented to do so. As he rose to speak he was in such a state of perturbation and embarrassment that it was some moments before he was able to command himself so as to speak. From the moment, however, that he got possession of his voice he continued, and made one of the finest speeches he ever made in

his life, showing then marked promise of a public speaker. Another fact connected with his membership of that National Convention was, that although a young man, and comparatively unknown, he was made one of the secretaries of the Convention. He was elected to the Legislature in 1858, and was re-elected for three successive terms afterward, two of which he was Speaker of the House.

In the entire history of the Maine Legislature, so far as I remember it, and my acquaintance with it extends over a period of forty-seven years, there was never so much talent in both parties as was displayed in the Legislatures at that time. It was upon the eve of the war, and all the great questions that divided the parties were warmly discussed upon the floor of the House. In those discussions, Mr. Blaine was pre-eminent. No other man in the Republican party loomed up so strongly and so grandly upon the floor of the House as Mr. Blaine. In the debates with the strongest and best men of the Republican party, he was remarkably successful, and always came out triumphant in the debate, thus confirming the impressions made by his maiden effort in 1856, of distinguished ability.

When the war broke out he was one of the most active men in the State to support the government, and in arousing public sentiment in support of the war. As a man, a neighbor and a friend he had a very generous nature, and no appeal was ever made to him for assistance in any benevolent enterprise that he did not readily respond, to the extent of his means. No person, however humble, ever approached him without a perfect confidence that he was heard in any matter he wanted to lay before him, and he always helped them when it lay in his power to do so. He was a man to whom all seemed attached with whom he

came in contact. Not, apparently, from any design or purpose of making friends for any ulterior use, but rather because his nature was kindly and sympathetic to others.

He was ready to assist in the various church enterprises, not only in his own church, but in those of various denominations; his purse was always ready and open. His fondness for his children was remarkable, and he spent much of his time with them. They seemed to be an unceasing source of delight to him, and their presence an agreeable relief from his heavier and graver cares and work.

As an instance of the unobtrusive way in which he assisted others, I might mention an incident. A relative of Mrs. Blaine's was left a widow, with nine children, and small means. Almost the only property she had left was a house on which was a mortgage of three hundred dollars. Mr. Blaine paid the mortgage, and sent the canceled document to her anonymously, and it was years after before she ever knew who had done the generous deed that enabled her to retain possession of the house.

There is much of the child nature about Mr. Blaine. Sometimes in feelings and tastes he seems much like one. Then, again, as weighty themes claim his attention, he is a great intellectual giant.

On the day of his nomination, before the news came, he called into the house of one of his neighbors, and remained nearly an hour and a half, relating incidents of his life, apparently unconcerned in relation to the way the convention was going.

Many of them were suggested by the situation just at that time. Some of them were concerning the early part of his life when, single-handed, he commenced without patronage to make his way in the world.

He seemed to be entirely free from any care, trouble or anxiety concerning the result of the Convention. In fact, for days before the Convention, when I would talk with him more or less about the matter, he did not seem to care to discuss it particularly. He said to me, 'I am in a condition of mind where whatever happens, I am content. I have been for several years out of political life. I have had all reasonable ambition gratified in my life, and I can now say that I have no desire and no ambition for the Presidency. I have been engaged for the last year in another kind of work which has filled my time and heart. I have adjusted myself to the work, and it has become so pleasant and agreeable that it would be a wrench for me to break away from it, and again enter political life. If the nomination comes to me, it comes unsought, and without any effort whatever on my part. I determined from the first that I would take no part whatever in it, and steadily refuse my strongest and best friends any co-operation and advice whatever in regard to my candidacy for the Presidency.'

On the afternoon of the day of the nomination, I was with him until the news was received. We were on the lawn with Mrs. Blaine and the children, and Miss Dodge. During that time he was perfectly cool and calm, apparently free from any anxiety and concern. He noted the dispatches as they came in. We went into the house, and were in the northwest parlor when the telegrams containing the results of the first ballot began to arrive. He would make comments on them, saying that the vote of such a State was larger or smaller than he supposed it would be for him. I had the figures down,—I kept tally—and when the entire vote was reached, Mr. Blaine said, 'I think you

will find, Mr. Homan, that Arthur will lead on this ballot.' I said, 'No, you are mistaken.' He said, 'I have been watching the figures, and I think Arthur will lead slightly.' Just then we ascertained the tabulated vote. He said, 'That is just about what they have told it would be on the first ballot, but I thought it would fall off some.' During the second ballot he said to me, 'You take down the figures, I am going into the garden.' He then went out with the children and sat down in the hammock. The figures came in so slowly that I finally gave it up and went out too. On the third ballot, Miss Margaret was at the telephone, and she kept tally after that. After the third ballot, the question of adjournment came up, which was to decide whether or not Mr. Blaine would get the nomination. For those opposed to him would vote for the adjournment, and those in his favor would vote to continue the balloting. When the result was announced, and they voted down the motion to adjourn, we knew what the next ballot must be. Mrs. Blaine and the children, Mrs. and Miss Manley, Miss Dodge, Mrs. Homan, Miss Stanwood, Gen. Beal, and Alden Sprague of the *Kennebec Journal*, were the ones who were present when the announcement was made. We heard a shout from the house where Miss Margaret was at the telephone, and instantly she rushed out of the house, and run over the bank to the hammock, where her father was sitting, threw herself upon him, and put her arms around him. As soon as she could recover breath, she made the announcement that her father was nominated, though the figures were not learned until late in the evening. Mr. Blaine disengaged himself from his daughter, rose from the hammock, and kissed Mrs. Blaine and the children. Then instantly it seemed as if the ground must have opened, and that

people had sprung from it everywhere. His friends and neighbors from all parts of the city came to congratulate him. The first to arrive were O. D. Baker, Esq., Mr. E. R. Pierce and Mr. C. C. Hunt, who drove up in a carriage together. Mr. Baker was the first one, outside of the group with him, when the news was recieved, to grasp him by the hand and offer congratulations.

It was noticeble, that at the reception on the evening of the day of his nomination, a large proportion of those present were working men of the city, most of whom he knew personally. He was remarkable for recollecting everyone whom he once had known. He never forgot a face or a name. At the reception he would call nearly every one there by name. It was a marvellous illustration of his power to retain names and faces.

These statements, emanating as they do from sources so directly connected with Mr. Blaine, indicate the general estimation in which he is held, and furnish the best proof of his generous, kind and upright nature. The character of James G. Blaine is the bright shield of loyalty, honesty and intellect, against which the slings and arrows of hate, born of jealousy, cannot prevail.

SONG FOR BLAINE.

TUNE:—"TRAMP, TRAMP, TRAMP."

From the lumber camps of Maine
To the ship-yards on the shore,
Which have waited for the hammer's ring in vain,
First there came a pleading voice,
Which has now become a roar,
"Give us our wisest leader, Jimmy Blaine."

Hark, hark, hark, the voices swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain and o'er plain,
"We have waited long enough and our temper's getting rough,
We want our brilliant statesman, Jimmy Blaine."

From New Hampshire's granite rocks,
Where the sturdy sons of toil
Wring an honest, scanty living from the soil,
The cry comes rolling on, and with all their might and main
A hundred thousand throats are shouting "Blaine."

Hark, hark, hark, the voices swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain and o'er plain,
And the gray rocks answer back, "We'll make the welkin crack,
But we'll have our honest leader, Jimmy Blaine."

O'er the green hills of Vermont,
Through the valley's peaceful shade,
The summer winds are whispering not in vain,
"Though we love one noble son for the good deeds he has done,
Still we'd rather have the other, Jimmy Blaine."

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain and o'er plain,
The Green Mountain boys are out, and they mean it when they shout,
"We don't want any one but Blaine."

At the anvil and the loom,
In the workshop and the mine,
The toiling masses listen with delight,
As they hear the glad refrain which they echo back again,
"Hurrah! Hurrah! for noble Jimmy Blaine!"

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain, mine and plain,
"We work hard for our living, and we want our rights protected,
And the man to do that business is Jim Blaine,"

Thus the chorus rolls along
O'er Ticonderoga's walls,
Waking up the glorious echoes of Champlain;
And the old historic ground
Seems to swell with joy profound,
As it quivers with the magic shout of "Blaine."

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain, lake and plain,
For the old historic ground gives out no doubtful sound,
"We want that true American, Jim Blaine."

But hark! what sound appears
To be thundering in our ears,
Like a Western blizzard coming on amain?
'Tis the outburst of the hope of the far Pacific slope,
That at last they've got a leader, Jimmy Blaine?

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain and o'er plain,
Till the echoes from the West set all our hearts at rest,
And we hail our future President in Blaine.

There is still another land
Where the dusky figures stand,
List'ning in their weary toil among the cane,
For the name of one they know,
Who was foe unto their foe,
And with tears of love they shout for "Massa Blaine."

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard and the mountains to the plain,
While the Southern breezes bring good news on joyful wing—
“We’re with you heart and hand for Jimmy Blaine.”

Thus from North, East, South and West,
All the poor and the opprest
Throughout this glorious, broad and fair domain,
Feel their hearts within them rise,
And hope dawns on their eyes,
For they love their trusted leader, Jimmy Blaine.

Hark, hark, hark, the chorus swelling,
From the seaboard over mountain and o’er plain,
The people *can’t* be wrong, for they all join in one song,
“Hurrah for our next President, James Blaine.”

[illegible]



John A. Logan

JOHN A. LOGAN.

CHAPTER I.

No man ever deserved better of his country than John A. Logan, nor was there ever a more conspicuous example of the uprising of genius through a surface of inherited hindrances, than is found in his life. I have known him since my earliest boyhood, and among the pleasant recollections of my youth are the speeches I have heard him utter as a lawyer and as a politician. Hundreds of so-called biographies have been written of Logan, but I have never seen one in which there was scarcely a pretence to truth or justice. It may be a fact that he has enemies, for all great men have, but it is in my province to know that he has as many devoted, admiring friends as any man can well afford to countenance. Every truly loyal American esteems a self-made man, and, as a rule, manifests more or less dislike for those whom fortune has spewed out upon the world with a nursing bottle full of wealth, and gold dollars for playthings; this feeling is natural, because have we not such an abundance of proof that "necessity is not only the mother of invention," but of brains as well?

John A. Logan is a man absolutely moulded in his own die; he was created the buffet of idle circumstance, without any help or encouragement, in a community where intelligence was positively a drug in the market at the time; where, indeed, the aspirations that stirred the Egyptian ignorance

rose no higher than keeping a whiskey shop, fiddling, dancing and horse racing. The writer was born and reared in a section very near to that in which Logan took his initiation, and therefore has no interest in exaggerating facts, but rather in dwarfing them, if it were not my purpose to write only facts, without gilding.

Southern Illinois is that portion of the State lying south of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad; the two sections are not only materially different in configuration, one being prairie and the other mountainous, but there is a pronounced difference in the culture which is met with in the two, more marked twenty years ago, however, than at present. Why this is so, I cannot explain, but the fact will be freely admitted by every person residing in the southern section; the same difference is noticeable, also, in the two divisions of Indiana and Missouri. While those living in the south parts generally have less education than their northern neighbors, they are boundless in hospitality, generous in everything, and exhibit great sociability. Particularly were these traits of character prominent in the early settlement of the State, when Gen. Logan was a boy, and their impress was so indelibly impressed upon him then, that he has not yet outgrown them, and never will. That they are not to his discredit, but rather add to the good qualities he has always manifested, will appear in the record of his life, which it is my pleasure to here write.

John Alexander Logan was born in Brownsville, Jackson county, Illinois, February 15th, 1827, in a two-story, weather-boarded log house. This building was destroyed by fire six years ago, much to the sorrow of the Logans, who were anxious for its preservation. Fortunately the house had been photographed a few years before its

destruction. Gen. Logan's father, Dr. John Logan, was a native of Ireland, but at the age of five years he came with his father's family to this country, and settled in Maryland. The Logan family remained in Maryland less than two years, when they removed to Ohio, and thence to Missouri, settling in the southern part of the latter State, where they remained several years, both of the parents dying there. Dr. John Logan, father of Gen. Logan, continued to reside in Missouri until 1823, when he removed to Jackson county, Illinois. Before leaving Missouri, however, he married a girl named Barkune, whose father was a Frenchman, and whose mother was an Indian woman, though of what tribe none of the Logan family now living know. There was one child born of this marriage, who is now a woman of considerable age, living in the vicinity of Marion, but Mrs. Logan died eighteen months after her marriage. With his infant daughter, therefore, Dr. Logan went to Illinois and settled in Brownsville, the county seat of Jackson county. He had studied medicine, principally under the tutelage of his father, and upon going to Illinois he entered upon the practice of that profession. In those early days physicians were scarce, and, to use a homely phrase, "they came high," so that Dr. Logan soon obtained a large practice from a section twenty-five miles around him. Dr. Logan was a man of very great ability, measured by the standards of that day, and though he was not a graduated physician, his knowledge of medicine was indicated by the success which attended his practice; his reputation became so great that wealthy patients, residing in places hundreds of miles distant, sought his services; his very large practice, in fact, led to his death, giving him no time for rest and draining his vitality, until the last spark was expended. He

was several times elected to the Legislature, and was tendered Congressional honors, but refused to accept them, being wedded to his profession.

In the year 1842 the court house in Brownsville took fire and was burned to the ground, together with most of the county records. Dr. Logan had a farm of nearly four hundred acres, lying four miles north of Brownsville, on the Big Muddy river, twenty acres of which he offered to donate to the county for a court house. The location was so pretty that, by a vote, the county accepted Dr. Logan's donation, and in 1843 the county seat was changed to Murphysboro, named in honor of one of the County Commissioners. Dr. Logan then built a hotel in the new village, and thus the town was begun. He profited by this change of the county seat, and went to Murphysboro to live, still following his profession and farming also, making considerable money, but his generous spirit prevented him from accumulating a fortune. He was security and bondsman for everybody who applied to him, and his losses in this way amounted to many thousands of dollars. He died in 1854, at the age of sixty-four years, leaving, however, a considerable estate.

Dr. Logan's wife, General Logan's mother, was, in maidenhood, Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, a South Carolinian by birth, a lady of considerable learning and of sharp faculties generally, far in advance of the community in which she lived. Her brother, Alexander M. Jenkins, was Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, and for many years held the position of Circuit Judge in Southern Illinois. There were nine children born to Dr. Logan, only four of whom are now living, viz: Gen. John A., Thomas M., Dorthula Angeline, now Mrs. Rogers, and James Logan, all of whom are still



BIRTH-PLACE OF GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.



residents of Murphysboro, excepting Gen. Logan, who, in 1871, moved to Chicago into a beautiful residence presented to him by the citizens of that city, since which time he has resided there. Mrs. Logan died in 1874, aged sixty-nine years. Thomas Logan resides in the north end of Murphysboro, on the skirts of a farm of four hundred and fifty acres, which is owned jointly by himself and Gen. Logan. He is wealthy, notwithstanding the fact that in the last twelve years he has paid \$50,000 in security debts; in this particular being a counterpart of his father. James Logan is postmaster at Murphysboro, a position he is indebted for to a friend in Washington, but not to his distinguished brother. Mrs. Rogers, Logan's sister, is the wife of a gentleman connected in an official capacity with the Big Muddy Coal Co., in a good position which he fills with ability.

CHAPTER II.

The youth of Gen. Logan was marked by adventures peculiar to a frontier country, and is interesting, because it indicates the struggles of a great intellect under unique circumstances. It is a singular fact, which everyone has observed, that distinguished men are invariably the outgrowth of mischievous boys; the sluggish, pious boy rarely attains to exalted position in manhood, and the reason is not hard to find. John A. Logan, called in his boyhood "Jack," was a rollicking, hot-headed, prank-loving youth. He enjoyed the wild freedom of border life, played the fiddle very well, could dance a jig with any plantation darkey, and as a rider of race-horses he had no equal in the State.

As a boy, Logan was uncommonly spare, so frail as to appear consumptive, but he was too active to become a victim of that disease; his weakly looks were only deceiving, for no one could endure greater hardships than he. His first school-teacher was a Mrs. Howard, who taught in Brownsville whenever she could secure a sufficient number of subscription scholars to pay her. Logan was about seven years old when he received his first instruction, but even at this early age he showed the inherent genius that was destined to place him in the high positions he has since held.

On a certain Christmas, school was in session as usual, Mrs. Howard having announced on the day previous that she could not afford to give a holiday which she would be required to make up; that she was anxious to conclude her

school as soon as possible in order that she might accept a situation that had been tendered to her. So school was called as usual, and nearly all the scholars were punctually present. When the first class was called to recite, however, Jack Logan arose in his seat—a little tot, filled with assurance—and courteously begging pardon for interrupting the regular exercises, asked the privilege of making a few remarks. The request was such a novel one, coming from so youthful a source, that, curious to know what it meant, Mrs. Howard gave him permission to speak. Thereupon Jack began a forensic effort on the duty of Christians in their observance of Christmas day. He continued to harangue the school in a stump style of oration, utterly regardless of remonstrance or threats from his teacher, and so excited the pupils that a riotous proceeding was inaugurated; those that were in attendance were there very much against their will and only needed a leader to show their displeasure by revolting. Jack Logan's speech was seized as a pretext, and such noise followed that Mrs. Howard was compelled to announce a holiday to get rid of her turbulent tormentors.

The next school that Jack attended was taught by Miss Wells, in a little log house at Tuttle's Prairie, where he mastered the spelling of words of two syllables; but Miss Wells was compelled to abandon teaching after the first year, on account of ill health. He was next sent, with his brother Tom, two years younger, to Shiloh, Jackson county, where a school was being taught by old man Lynch, a crabbed man who firmly believed in the efficacy of the rod as an excitant auxiliary to books and slates. Thomas had not been in the school-room twenty minutes, on the first day, before old man Lynch gathered him for an infraction of some implied rule, and with a flexible coat-duster gave

him "one grand exercise," as a Frenchman would express it, that caused his back to ache for many days. Tom took the threshing as an evidence that he needed no schooling and retired permanently to his home. Jack, however, became so great a favorite with his teacher that he induced his father to employ Mr. Lynch by the year to reside with them and teach the children. This arrangement gave the Logan children better opportunity for acquiring an education than any others in the neighborhood enjoyed, as schools were in no place of that section taught regularly, while the teachers were usually of an inferior grade. Mr. Lynch is represented as having been a man of very considerable erudition, possessing a masterly knowledge of Latin and Greek, two studies which Jack Logan took especial delight in pursuing.

Mr. Lynch was decidedly eccentric, and one of his eccentricities was manifested in his strong love for his pupil Jack; it was more than a fancy or mere liking, for all his actions clearly showed that Jack was the one thing that gave a charm to life and afforded him happiness; nor was this love wholly unrequited, for Jack could not, with his warm and sympathetic nature, be insensible to the devotion of his teacher. Tom, from the time that Mr. Lynch introduced himself by practical instructions so warmly at Shiloh, never submitted to a second trial, but held aloof from friendly relation with the old teacher, refusing to eat at the same table or remain in the room with him. The relation between Jack and Mr. Lynch, however, could not have been more pleasant; at all spare hours they were together pouring over the embalmed languages of ancient Greece and Rome, for no other branches save elocution possessed very great attractions for Jack, and it was this home instruction

that made Gen. Logan the excellent Greek and Latin scholar he now is.

Having developed elocutionary powers with the faculties of speech, Jack cultivated them with a longing aspiration to be a great orator. In this he was encouraged by his faithful teacher, who sat hundreds of times upon some log lying in the forest, charmed by the natural, honeyed flow of words from his pupil speaking from an adjacent stump. In the primeval woods of Southern Illinois, with soughing trees and twittering birds for audience ; or before one listening old man, full of pride for his charge, whose ears were filled with the music of prophecy, it was here that Gen. John A. Logan trained and became an orator ; where he cultivated, under inspiration, the genius by which he has since, long before attaining manhood, held captive the ear of thousands, and left his star of fame in the very zenith of American progress.

CHAPTER III.

The school-days of Jack Logan were not numerous, for his father was a man who believed in bringing up his family to a practical knowledge of hard work; it was this idea that, more than anything else, induced Dr. Logan to go into farming extensively, for with his five boys he concluded that a working force, quite sufficient for the cultivation of a large body of land, had been graciously supplied him by good fortune.

When Jack was twelve years of age he was set to farm-work, plowing, grubbing and felling trees, chiefly. On one occasion, while his father was attending a protracted session of the Legislature, Jack and his brother Tom were ordered to plow a large field of corn, in which there was such a quantity of cockle-burs that the crop of corn was threatened. As the two boys were young, and both small for their age, Dr. Logan had two plows made for them with short handles and wooden mould-boards. When they started in to work the boys found the plows so contrary that, despite all their exertions, they would skip out of the ground, or take quick sheers and cut up the corn. Worried beyond measure by the eccentric action of their plows, and knowing that to continue in that way meant a sound flogging in the end, the boys collected some brush together, and, setting the pile on fire, threw the two plows on top and took a savage delight in seeing them burn. To recompense for this destruction, Jack and Tom foraged for two other plows having iron mould-boards. These they obtained, and, though to hold on to the handles required a high stretch and contin-

ued strain, by dint of industry they tended the corn most satisfactorily. When Dr. Logan returned home he complimented the boys for their excellent work, but after the most diligent search he was unable to locate the little plows with wooden mould-boards, and had to conclude that some "varmint" had made off with them.

In those days the nearest grist-mill to the Logan farm was fifteen miles distant, and it fell to the lot of Jack and Tom to do all the milling. Fifteen miles is not a great distance under certain circumstances, but it is dreadfully remote under others.

The mill of which I now write, was a small concern that was run by horses not belonging to the mill owner, but by oxen or horses supplied by the patrons; in other words, every one had to grind his own grist. It would often happen that fifty or more persons would bring their grain at the same time, and as each was compelled to wait his turn, it not infrequently occurred that some would have to remain for several days before they could get their grinding. It was on occasions like these, when crowds gathered, that real Southern Illinois frolic was indulged. Horse-racing was an irresistible pastime, and hundreds of times were the wagers laid "horse against horse," and the unfortunate ones had to carry their grist home on their own backs.

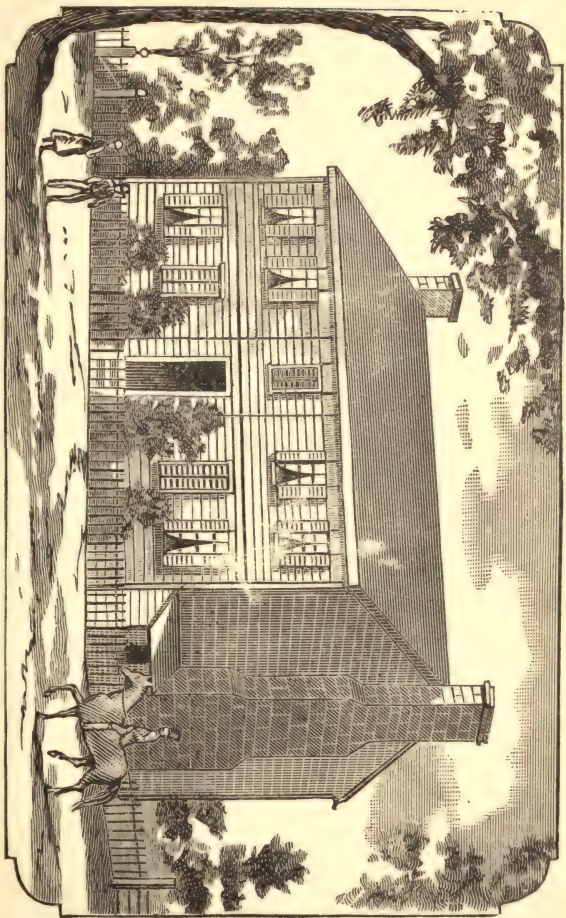
Among the riders and betters Jack Logan was foremost; he stood ready to hazzard horse, saddle, bridle, blanket and grist, and with all the chances which he took at such races, fortune so favored him that he was never once compelled to walk home.

After Murphysboro was made the county seat, a race-track was laid off in Dr. Logan's wheat-field, right through what is now the business center of the town. Jack Logan

was famous as a jockey, being very light, skillful, and knew how to push a horse; for this reason, his services as a rider were very much sought, and the Murphysboro race-track became so popular that horses were brought there from all parts of the State and run. Among the best horses that Dr. Logan owned was one called Walnut Cracker, in the Southern Illinois vernacular of the time, "Warnut Cracker." This was Jack's favorite horse, and he would lay all his possessions on him against any horse that could be brought on the track.

But horse-racing was not the only pleasurable pursuit that our young hero indulged. A man living in Southern Illinois who couldn't play the fiddle was fairly ostracized socially; he was a poor fellow worthy of much pity, but not fellowship; good to plow and steer oxen but as a social feature his lack of the one indispensable requirement made him a conspicuous failure. Of course, Jack Logan could not afford to be a failure, so with his cunning art of adaptation he became not only a fiddler but one most skillful with the rosined bow. Dancing, however, was an accomplishment of hardly less importance, and for this reason all true Southern Illinoisans could both fiddle and dance. In both these Jack Logan was an artist, and no truly enjoyable "frolic" could be held without Jack was a participant, so thought the people of his section. There were quiltings, log-rollings, apple-parings, corn-huskings, all of which occasions must terminate with a dance.

There was a quilting "given" by a neighbor, once, some ten miles from Murphysboro, to which Jack and his sister Dorthula were invited and, of course, they went. It happened that the weather was not delightful, so that the attendance was not as large as usual, there being nine boys and



GENERAL LOGAN'S OLD HOME AT MURPHYSBORO, ILL.

only eight girls, just enough for two sets in a quadrille, leaving out one boy to play the fiddle. When the "quilting" had progressed awhile, it was proposed that a few moments of resting time should be devoted to the dance, when it was discovered that there was no fiddle in the house. Another trouble arose from the fact that Mrs. Logan, being a devoted Christian, positively forbade her girls from dancing under any circumstances, and this prohibition denied Miss Dorthula the pleasure which she would have gladly indulged, thus leaving the second set unfilled. To provide against these two interferences, Jack proposed to return home, get his fiddle, and by explaining the circumstances to his mother, obtain her permission for Miss Dorthula to complete the set. He therefore rode furiously home and in a few hours returned with his fiddle; but well knowing his mother's firm will and prejudice, said nothing to her about his sister, as it would have only complicated matters the more. When he arrived at the house with his fiddle, he was met by Miss Dorthula, who anxiously inquired for her mother's answer. Jack responded, "Oh, she don't care, under the circumstances," so the dance went merrily on.

On the following day, thinking she had had the consent of her mother to do so, Miss Dorthula related gleefully how she had enjoyed the dance. "The dance!" said Mrs. Logan in surprise; "did you dance at the quilting last night? Well, I have a small preventive here in the corner, which I will now administer," and poor Dorthula was put through a threshing machine in short order, despite the remonstrances of herself and Jack.

On another occasion, Jack and five of his companions, among the number being Mr. Cox, a relative of the Logans, and still a resident of Murphysboro, went to a dance, fifteen

miles from their town, where, having enjoyed themselves as usual, they concluded to attend church, which was being held at a little log house five miles further on. The minister was an odd specimen, being a typical mountain backwoods preacher, over six feet tall, angular to gawkiness, and that his figure might appear the more grotesque he wore pants that were fully four inches too short. But his pious address was the cap-sheaf of his awkward appearance. "Amen" was on his every breath, and exhortation was almost as natural to him as chewing tobacco; in walking, he carried either an upward or downward, reverently painful, cast of countenance, and his hands were either crossed in front or behind, while he greeted everybody as "sister" or "brother." To shorten the description, he was an inviting subject for a joke.

After "meeting" had concluded, Jack and his companions loitered awhile talking with the girls, and until the preacher had departed, not noting which direction he had taken. When at length they started home, it was at their usual rapid pace in riding, and they had gone only a few miles before they overtook the devotional preacher; he was riding a religious-looking horse, and his hands were crossed over the pommel of his saddle in an attitude of abject dependency on the Lord's will, reckoning nothing of his free-agency powers. As the boys passed him they courteously saluted, to which the preacher only bowed and went on with his glowing reflections about Judgment day.

Jack, full of fun at all times, was suddenly inspired to perpetrate a joke on the demure minister, and to carry his idea into effect, he rode rapidly ahead for nearly two miles, followed by his companions, and drew rein after passing over Crab Orchard bridge, a structure which spanned Big

Muddy river, which was about thirty feet high. Here he disclosed his plan to the other boys, which was that they should hide their horses in the brush, turn their hats, coats and pants wrong side out and then stain their faces with poke-berry juice, preparatory to meeting the meek disciple on the bridge and giving him an Indian scalp-dance. Everything being prepared, the mischievous worldlings secretly disposed themselves about the bridge and awaited their victim. In due time, riding slowly and religiously along the dusty road, was seen the lugubrious, heavenly-minded regenerator, pausing not nor giving heed to his surroundings. In another moment he was on the bridge, and in yet another there rose up all around him hideous, uncanny demons, who with yells sprang and seized his horse. Terror immediately dissipated the sanctimonious countenance he was accustomed to wear, and with a "help me, Lord," he was ready to give up the ghost. The painted boys thoroughly impressed the preacher with a belief that Beelzebub and a select few of his minions had set upon him, and when they had enjoyed the joke to proper limits, the minister was remounted by four of the boys, while Jack placed a few cockle-burs under the horse's tail to force a spirited conclusion. Immediately away flew the religious man on his religious horse, over hill and valley, faster than Tam O'Shanter or John Gilpin, the preacher feeling that his horse was speeded by five devils, while the horse evidently believed that he was being prodded by a sulphureous fire-brand. Horse and rider, after a fifteen-mile race, bore down upon the village, and the people rushed out in alarm to learn the news. When at length a stop was made, the fairly exhausted man of holiness told, between gasps for breath, how five hideous devils had met him on Crab Orchard bridge

with spears, toasting forks and spits, and how, after much wrestling, the Lord had delivered him out of their hands. This was one of Jack Logan's tricks; marvelously well planned and brilliantly executed. The spirit which prompted this joke was not a profane one, though it involved a minister, but was the manifestation of a humor which nature had bounteously given him. Logan was very far from being a malicious boy; indeed, he was kind and sympathetic, but delighted in anecdote, regardless of who might be the victim. This disposition, so prominent in his boyhood, has not been radically changed in later years, though the dignity which comes with age prohibits its exhibition. Few men can tell a joke with greater effect or relate more of them than John A. Logan, while he enjoys an anecdote just as much now as the day he beleaguered the preacher on Crab Orchard bridge.

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CHAPTER IV.

There was that in the dauntless, fiery spirit of Jack Logan, which qualified and adapted him to military adventure; he was restless for honor, and his longings were all disassociated from the surroundings which hedged him about. While others, impressed by the grovelling influences of low condition, moved in the narrow sphere of questionable usefulness, or conformed to the humble circumstances of birth, Logan's ambition was to cast himself into some breach of danger, or hazard a die that would either win plaudits with reputation, or sink him under a grand patriotic effort. Therefore, when war with Mexico was declared, though but twenty years of age, Jack proffered his services and was enrolled as a private in the 1st Illinois Infantry. He did not wait for honors, which he might carry upon his shoulders into the army, but bearing a knapsack and musket he entered the ranks and marched with martial spirit into the enemy's country; on to Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey and Buena Vista, under Taylor. On every field Jack Logan was a hero, pronounced and acknowledged, always in the front, as fortune happily threw him, his keen black eye ever employed sighting the gun barrel or locating the enemy; where no other dared to go Jack Logan begged to be commissioned for the duty. His brave conduct could not go unrewarded, for the gallant Taylor, quick to observe the true metal of his ambitious soldier, gave him a commission as First Lieutenant. At Buena Vista he won the title of "Intrepid Jack" by exhibiting a rare leadership and almost unexampled courage.

When the war with Mexico terminated, Logan returned home, and in 1849 he was elected Clerk of Jackson county. This office he did not seek, as his ambition was directed towards the profession of law, in which he was encouraged by his uncle, Alexander Jenkins, who was then filling the office of Circuit Judge. But as his financial affairs were not prosperous, Logan accepted the position to which his friends had elected him; but at the expiration of his term he refused to be a candidate again, feeling that time was now precious, and that to qualify himself for the law he must begin the study at once. Accordingly, he entered the office of Judge Jenkins as a student, where he applied himself diligently for one year, at the expiration of which time he attended the Louisville Law School, and there completed his course in 1852, graduating with the honors of first orator in his class.

Returning home, Logan entered into partnership with his uncle, but in the fall of the same year (1852), he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the Third Judicial District of Illinois, a position which he held until 1857. From his first appearance in court, as an attorney, Logan gave promise of attaining his loftiest ambition. His first speech was characterized by its clearness, logic and eloquence, and his success was complete. The people of Jackson county recognized his great abilities and were anxious to push him forward as their representative, because he would reflect honor upon them. Thus, in the fall of 1853, while still holding the office of Prosecuting Attorney, he was elected to the Legislature, to which position he was re-elected three consecutive terms. In the councils of his State he immediately won distinction, being bold, able, and, in forensic speech, the peer of any who served with him. His star was ever on the

ascendant, because his purpose was most honorable, his abilities pronounced, and his constituents held him in such high esteem that they contributed with all their means to his advancement.

In 1856 Logan was chosen an elector on the Buchanan ticket, from the Ninth Congressional District, and in 1858 he was elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket, to represent the same district, receiving 15,878 votes against 2,796 cast for his Republican opponent, Mr. Phillips. This majority, 13,082, was unprecedented, but in 1860 he was re-elected over Linegar, a Republican, by a majority of 15,942.

During the terms of legislative office to which he was elected, Logan utilized the time between sessions practicing his profession in the courts of Southern Illinois, where he was regarded as the ablest lawyer at the bar, and this reputation was an excellent foundation for the success which attended all his efforts. He was not only eloquent, but also a man of acute perception and analytical mind, which natural abilities adapted him specially to criminal practice. A case in point will tend to show the powers mentioned, as also his comprehensive knowledge and appreciation of the law's technicalities:

In a difficulty between two men in the town of Carbondale, one of them was killed by a knife-thrust in the back, and the circumstances were such that the murder was declared unprovoked. The murderer was apprehended, and being brought to trial, John A. Logan was engaged to defend him. The testimony as to the killing was conclusive that the victim had been assaulted without proper cause and cruelly murdered. The defendant entered no plea of justification nor a denial of the crime charged to him, as neither of these pleas would have availed anything

in the face of such strong and corroborative testimony as had been submitted. Logan had studied the case thoroughly, and was not to be caught in court without a plausible defense for his client. He therefore had summoned the Coroner and physicians who made a *post-mortem* examination on the body of the murdered man, and made these his witnesses. By them he proved that the wound found on deceased had been produced by a sharp instrument, presumably a knife; that the cut was located in the lumbar region, extending inward and through the spleen; that no other wound of any character was found on the body. Logan now took it upon himself to show that the spleen is an organ the exact use of which is unknown; that it was neither vital nor strictly essential, but on the contrary that it might be removed without producing any material consequence, and, therefore, the wound received by the deceased could not have produced his death. Of course, there was no doubt but that the man had been murdered, and that he had died of the wound which defendant had given him, but Logan so changed the conditions and burdens of proof which had before been so positive, that it was impossible for the jury to find a verdict more serious than "assault to kill," on which the defendant received a short term in the penitentiary. This was the first time in the history of criminal jurisprudence that such a defense had been made, which illustrates the resource, originality and analytical discernment of Logan as a lawyer.

CHAPTER V.

As a lawyer, Logan achieved reputation, won by his masterful eloquence, keen wit, and thorough familiarity with all the intricacies of his profession. I recall now several speeches which I heard him deliver in the court house of my native town, Golconda, though at the time I was a young boy. Except during the period that he was prosecuting attorney, Logan was chiefly engaged in criminal cases and invariably for the defense. One particular case in which he thus appeared is vividly impressed on my memory and will remain so through life, though my age then could scarcely have exceeded ten years.

Golconda was a sleepy little town of less than one thousand people, that only received animation twice each year, during the spring and fall terms of court, except when an occasional circus spread its tent. On these occasions courthouse square was invariably thickly occupied by country teams and horses, while the ginger-cake, cider, auction and stereopticon men howled their wares before gaping crowds. Court had been in session for two or three days, well attended as usual; upon adjournment one afternoon a number of men lingered in the court-room, among whom was a lusty fellow named Green Wommack and an elderly, very corpulent man named Bagley, both residents of Pope County and, I think, near neighbors. These two got into a dispute which culminated in Wommack knocking old man Bagley down and kicking him to death. This murder fairly set Golconda aflame, people rushed hither and thither crying, "lynch the scoundrel," "burn him," "shoot him," etc. The body of

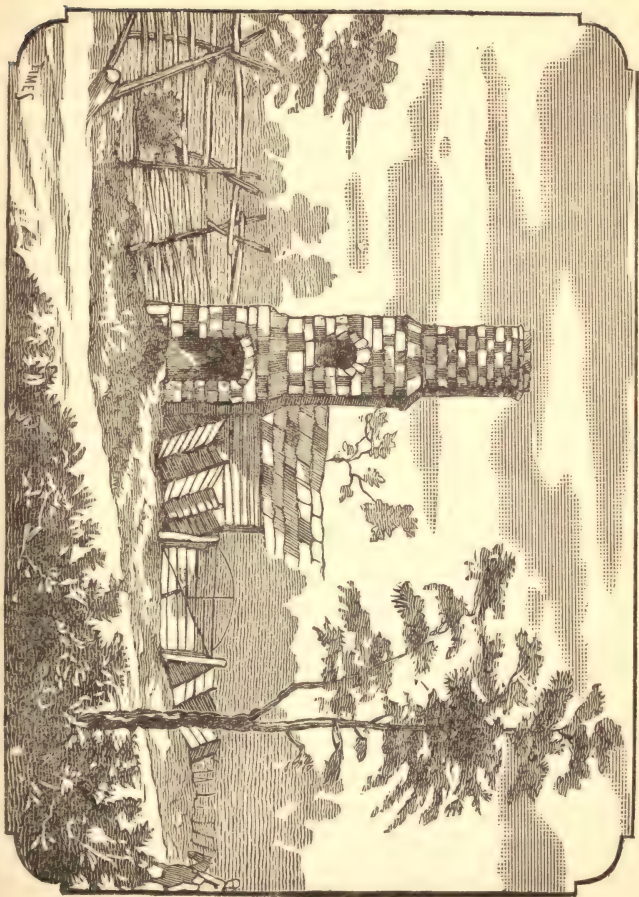
the murdered man was carried into a warehouse opposite and covered with a sheet, while a score or more men started after the murderer, who had fled upon realizing what he had done. I never saw the body of old man Bagley, except as it was covered with a sheet, but the impression which this sight produced has in no wise faded from my memory, for I remember that it caused me many sleepless nights and terrible nightmares.

Wommack was not apprehended until some weeks after the murder, when he was brought to town and put into the old log jail amid general execration. Old settlers would recall the fact that there had not been a hanging in Pope County since 1832, when a fellow named Sheets was officially executed from a sleeper in the bridge over Lusk Creek, and then gleefully predict another before many more months should expire, for every one believed that Green Wommack would certainly be introduced to the hangman of Pope County.

Wommack remained securely imprisoned until the next term of court, when it was announced that John A. Logan had been engaged to defend the prisoner, who would be ready for trial when the case should be called. Immediately upon this announcement opinion began to change; those who for a long time confidently expected to witness the execution of the prisoner, commenced to hedge and form a directly opposite belief. It was now the general impression that however guilty a wretch might be he could never be convicted with John A. Logan defending him.

The day of trial at length arrived, and I remember that it attracted a greater crowd than any circus I ever saw in Golconda, which is putting a very large estimate on the drawing qualities of that occasion. People came from a distance of fifty miles to hear Logan's speech; the court-house fence

PRESENT RUINS OF GENERAL LOGAN'S OLD HOME IN MURPHYSBORO, ILL.





was not only crowded all round with horses and vehicles; but hundreds of persons went into camp on the creek bottom, and private families and stables were filled with visiting acquaintances and their horses and oxen. In those days there were more oxen used for draft purposes in Pope and adjoining counties than there were horses.

Of course, not one twentieth part of all these people could crowd into the small court-house, but they were all willing to take their chances, and by day-light on the morning of the trial hundreds ran to the building to secure seats, and these patiently remained until the trial was called at ten o'clock. I was fortunate enough to secure a position on the base of a high window which opened at the back of the jury box, and though it was anything but comfortable the pre-emption was too valuable for me to vacate.

Little time was consumed in preliminaries, there were several witnesses, but each one told the same story, and every theory pointed to a malicious murder, absolutely indefensible. The defense introduced one or two witnesses, I believe, who testified to some difficulty that had occurred between the murderer and his victim some time before the crime, but if I remember rightly it was a trivial matter that really cut no figure in the case; there was, therefore, nothing for the defense to stand upon. The prosecuting attorney made a speech of some length, picturing all the horrible aspects of an unprovoked murder such as Wommack had committed, until I saw the prisoner's face blanch with abject terror.

The time for Logan to speak now arrived. A hush fell upon the scene; his handsome face lighted with the full assurance of his triumph, and his brilliant, piercing black eyes, danced and gave play to a laughter which his grave mouth refused to voice. There was a majesty about his

figure, a magnetic influence issuing from his person, that seemed to both awe and fascinate the audience.

He stood for a minute or more surveying the jury before beginning to speak, and my remembrance is that he had not been speaking five minutes before he had the entire audience, including judge and jury, convulsed with laughter. Judge Sloan was on the bench, a naturally grave man, little given to joking, but even he could not resist the humor which Logan distributed by quaint, strong and amusing words. This was his policy for breaking the effect of the prosecuting attorney's speech and the prejudice which had so strongly prevailed against his client. He next, in language such as never before or since heard fall from mortal lips, began a search for the sympathies of those in whose hands was the life of Wommack; he drew pictures appealing to mercy so strong that every heart seemed to melt with pity, and every eye flowed fast with tears. Those who heard his speech forgot that there was, or ever had been a guilt-stained wretch and murderer; forgot that blood was then crying from the ground for atonement; they heard instead such tender words, such compassionate phrases, such beautiful descriptions of mercy and rewards which bless humankind that at its conclusion there remained something like the dying melody of some sweet song that has brought forth music from every gamut of the human heart.

Logan concluded this forensic effort amid the wild applause of an appeased and thoroughly forgiving audience. The jury scarcely retired before they returned to the courtroom with a verdict of "not guilty," and so completely had the atrociousness of the crime been dissipated by Logan's speech that every one declared it a righteous one.

I might multiply examples of this kind to illustrate the

dramatic power and marvellous eloquence of this great master of effective speech. As a jury lawyer, I sincerely believe John A. Logan never had his equal in all the history of American jurisprudence. There was more than eloquence in his speech, more than magnetism in his eye; for there seemed to be a charm about his entire person that charged his audiences with electricity until he had only to touch the positive pole to make them answer to the feelings he sought to play upon. He always spoke with such earnestness, and had the happy faculty of such precise statement that he produced a favorable impression of his correctness, and then brought his hearers into settled conclusion with him by irresistible eloquence. This is the character of the tactics he still employs, which has made him confessedly one of the most brilliant and effective speakers, not only on the stump but in the Senate halls at Washington as well.

CHAPTER VI.

John A. Logan, up to the inauguration of hostilities by the South, was a strong and consistent advocate of Democracy; he belonged to the Jacksonian school, inheriting the first principles of that party from his father and being more grounded in his belief of their correctness by study and association in after years. In 1860 he therefore gave his most earnest support to Stephen A. Douglas, who was his friend and archetype. When, however, Lincoln was elected and events of the succeeding year were foreshadowed in the attitude of the South, Logan's patriotism, which could not be subordinated to partizanship, asserted itself, and he openly declared that while he had labored and hoped for Lincoln's defeat, yet if his election should provoke an outbreak of the hostile Southern sentiment he would shoulder a musket to have him inaugurated. This lofty expression of sentiment he voiced on the floor of Congress in January, 1861. Like Douglas, Logan was quick to perceive the evil tendencies of that feeling, intensified in the South, which threatened the nation, and when he saw that the Democrats were both secretly and overtly encouraging the South to secede he raised his voice in protest, and when words were useless he rushed to the front of battle.

At the time of which I now write, nearly all of Southern Illinois favored Secession; there were towns, and counties too, perhaps, in which a majority were firm Unionists, but the Southern sympathizers were numerous enough to have carried the day on a test vote. Logan's people were intensely

Democratic, radically rebellious, and when they learned that he had resigned his seat in Congress July 21st, joined a Michigan regiment as a private and participated in the first battle of Bull Run, they were ready to repudiate him. Others, without the pale of relationship, pronounced him a traitor who had sold his birthright to the Abolitionists and deserved ignoring and political death. In fact, no words in the category of calumny were too severe for Jackson county Democrats to utter against him.

Fortified by the justice of his cause, the hopes of a patriot, his love for his country, Logan was not to be influenced by clamor, threats, or fears of losing political prestige; he saw only the hideous visage of Secession showing its poisonous fangs and heard the danger rattle; this overcame the small restraint of office and erring friends. When the blood-red sun threw its last shadows over Bull Run, where treason had wounded justice, Logan brooded with deepest melancholy, but not with waning courage. He saw that to put down the rebellion more help was required; that instead of 75,000 men on a ninety day campaign, hundreds of thousands must be brought against the enemy for an indefinite term. Thus he wrote and spoke to fire the Northern heart, and then boldly resolved to go into the very midst of his threatening people and raise a regiment for the Union service. When he reached Murphysboro, instead of being received by bands of music and welcoming committees, he was jeered and threatened.

A company was being organized in the town for the Confederate service, and was almost completed; among the enlisted men was Thomas Logan, and many other relatives, while Mr. Cunningham, John A. Logan's father-in-law, and his son Hibe, were hurrahing for the new Confederacy.

As Logan walked up the street one of the newly-enlisted men called him a traitor. Thomas Logan heard the remark, and though it was an expression of his own real sentiment he promptly knocked his soldier comrade down. Great excitement followed, and there was talk of lynching "Jack Logan, the traitor," as he was called, but Jack Logan never knew the feeling that fear inspires, and with resolute purpose denounced every Southern sympathizer as a rebel, damnable to the sight of all true patriots. Upon the principle that blood is stronger than water, Thomas Logan was drawn to his brother by the danger that he saw threatening, and as heaven never kissed, with glowing sun-light, braver hearts than beat within the bosoms of Tom and Jack Logan, there was no company of men resolute enough to attempt their lives or liberties. James Logan, another brother, was the only one of the family, except Jack, who was in favor of the Union at any price, and at the request of Jack, he went to a settlement in the northern part of Jackson county to enlist volunteers for the Union army, where he succeeded in getting together about a dozen men and took them to Marion. Jack Logan, followed by Thomas, also went to Marion, where a second company was being made up for the Confederate service. Thorndyke Brooks, a brother-in-law to Josh Allen, now of Baltimore, had already taken eighteen men South, and left Lindolph Osborn to enlist and take South enough more to complete a full company, about fifty of the number being then already enlisted, partly uniformed and nearly ready for departure. Osborne had been a comrade of Logan's in the Mexican war, and was so devoted in his friendship that he suffered Logan to argue with him against taking up arms against his country. Osborne at first replied with some heat, but became more calm and

promised to consider the matter another day. On the following day Logan addressed an assembly of people in the public square of Marion.

There were between five and six thousand persons present, and of this number it may be safely said that nine-tenths of them were howlers for Southern independence. They were all familiar with Logan, knew his strong Democratic proclivities, and could not conceive how he could desert them and go over to the Abolitionists; they had never studied the questions involved, being content to follow where so-called Democracy should lead, and to condemn every tongue and every principle that was not in consonance with their inherited political faith. They, therefore, stood ready to expatriate Logan, whom they had honored only to find him, as they declared, false to his kinsmen, people and principles. When he arose to begin his speech confusion at once followed, so that for several minutes he could not make himself heard; but his magnificent and magnetic presence, standing like an armed hero to confront his accusers, at length awed the angry crowd into attention. He waited then, still in that commanding attitude, until the vast assemblage became anxious to hear him, when he broke forth in such a passionate appeal to the loyalty and patriotism of his hearers, apotheosizing the old flag and his beloved country, that they forgot their Democracy in their enthusiasm for one flag and one country. He educated his audience in the tenets of Republicanism by glowing eulogy and startling illustration, and so eloquently explained his own political course that the entire crowd cheered to the echo, and shouted their hurrahs for Logan until the very welkin rang with the echo of his name. When he concluded this two hours' speech the people gathered around him with an

admiration he had never before excited in them; those who were crying for his life a few hours before, were now his staunch friends again, and in this short time, too, they were weaned from Democracy and had adopted Republicanism.

Having overcome the prejudices of his constituents, Logan proposed the formation of a regiment for the Union service, and strange enough the first one to enroll his name was Lindolph Osborne, followed by all the men he had enlisted for the Southern army. A company was formed in a few minutes, and leaving another party to continue the enlistment, Logan went to Jonesboro where he repeated his success, and made up a company which was headed by James Provo, and then continued speaking and enlisting throughout his district until the grand old Thirty-first Illinois Regiment had its full quota of men, of which he was commissioned Colonel.

This is the authentic history of Logan's first steps after war was declared, and yet bold, patriotic and honorable as was his manly course, the creatures of malice and jealous malignity have charged that Logan's first sympathies for the Southern cause were so strong that he raised a company for the Confederate service; that this foul falsehood might the more readily deceive, a poor villain named Wheatley, a refugee from the South, an inmate of the Cairo hospital, was induced, by what unholy means I know not, to make affidavit that he was one of the men who had enlisted under Logan to help support the Confederate cause. I may also add that this report was circulated largely by Hibe Cunningham, a recalcitrant brother-in-law, who was a red-hot (so to speak) Confederate in sentiment and a generous hater of the generous Logan, though their admiration in this respect was mutual. Cunningham died about seven years

ago, but long previous to his death he admitted having circulated the falsehood to injure his brother-in-law politically.

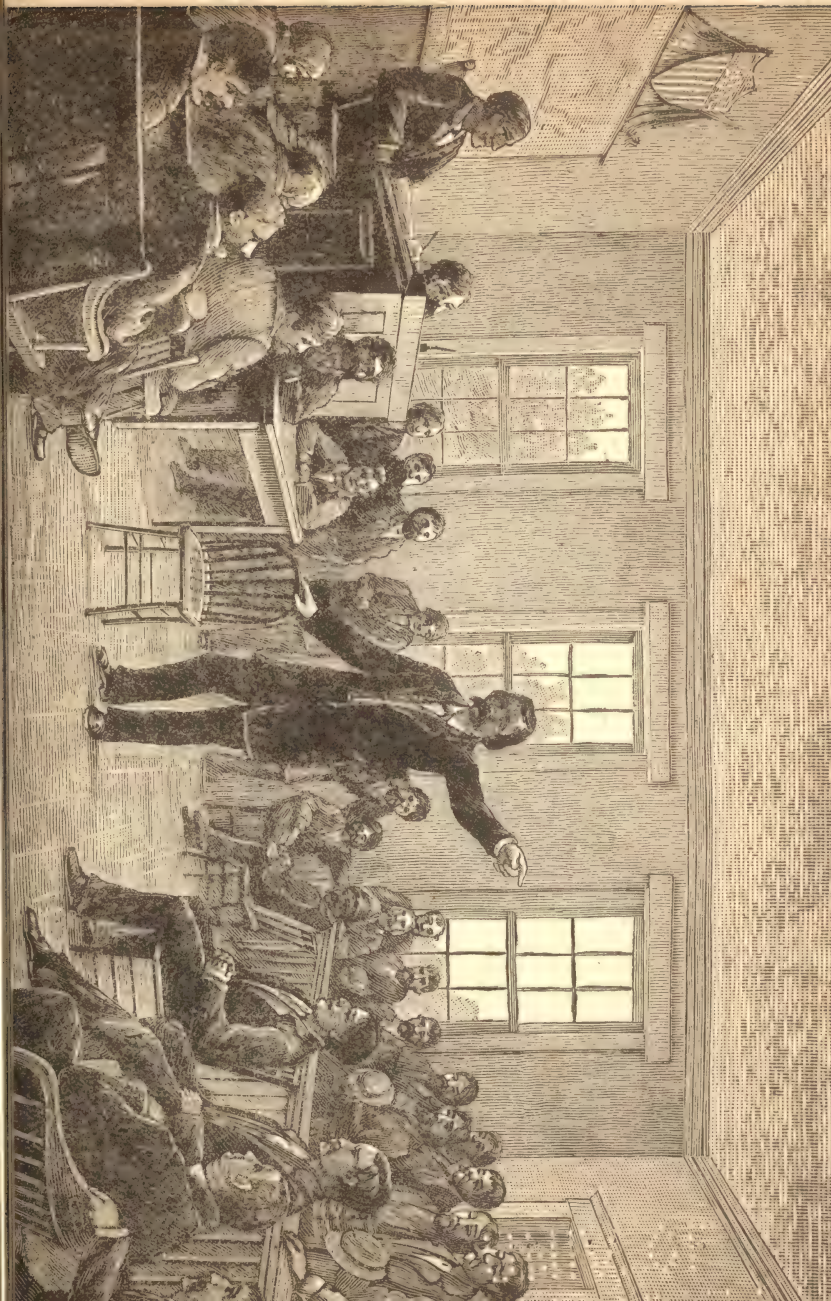
There is also a malicious fiction emanating from the lips of his enemies, to the effect that Gen. Logan's sister and his brother have both denounced him as a turn-coat, a traitor, and confirming the story of his original Southern sympathy. I am personally acquainted with Gen. Logan's sister and both his brothers. James was always a Republican, or that is since Lincoln's inauguration, and he was always devoted to his brother. Thomas Logan and his sister, now Mrs. Rogers, are Democrats now and always have been, but so far from ever having denounced their distinguished brother, on any occasion, they have always admired his brilliant genius and loved him with an affection commendable to their relationship. I had, from their own lips, a most positive denial, amounting to indignation at such a suggestion, of all the charges I have here sought to disprove against the most gallant son that Illinois now acknowledges, and as true a patriot as ever drew a sword in defence of his country. In concluding this chapter, I want to say, unequivocally, that had it not been for the personal influence of John A. Logan, Southern Illinois would have sent many entire regiments into the Confederate service.

CHAPTER VII.

I would not detract from the honors won by any of the battle-scarred regiments that have returned from fields of carnage to fields of ripening grain, for glory sits with jocund feature upon the stained and riven banners of them all, but I will be pardoned for speaking especially laudatory of the brave men who composed the Thirty-first Illinois, that were led by "Intrepid Jack." It was theirs to link steel with sturdy foes, and read fate by the light of blazing rifles, theirs to leap into desperate breaches, close up bloody gaps, rally under fire, and pluck victory from death-streaming parapets. And they did not flinch, nor blanch, nor stand still in doubt, but they followed where their hero leader led.

It was in September, 1861, that the Thirty-first Illinois was organized, and went into camp at Cairo to drill and await orders, and was attached to Gen. McClelland's division. It received its baptism of fire at Belmont, on November 7th, only seven weeks after organizing, and it was on this battle-ground that Logan showed his military genius. This was a fight that first taught our troops the consequence of surprises, and but for the intrepid Logan the battle would have proved worse than the Bull Run disaster.

Belmont is nearly opposite the town of Columbus, Kentucky, which was the first blockade the Confederates had below Cairo, and was garrisoned by about 25,000 troops under Gen. Polk, while Belmont was held by about 2,500 Confederates under Gen. Tappan. Gen. McClelland was dispatched, on the evening of Nov. 6th, with 5,000 men, to make



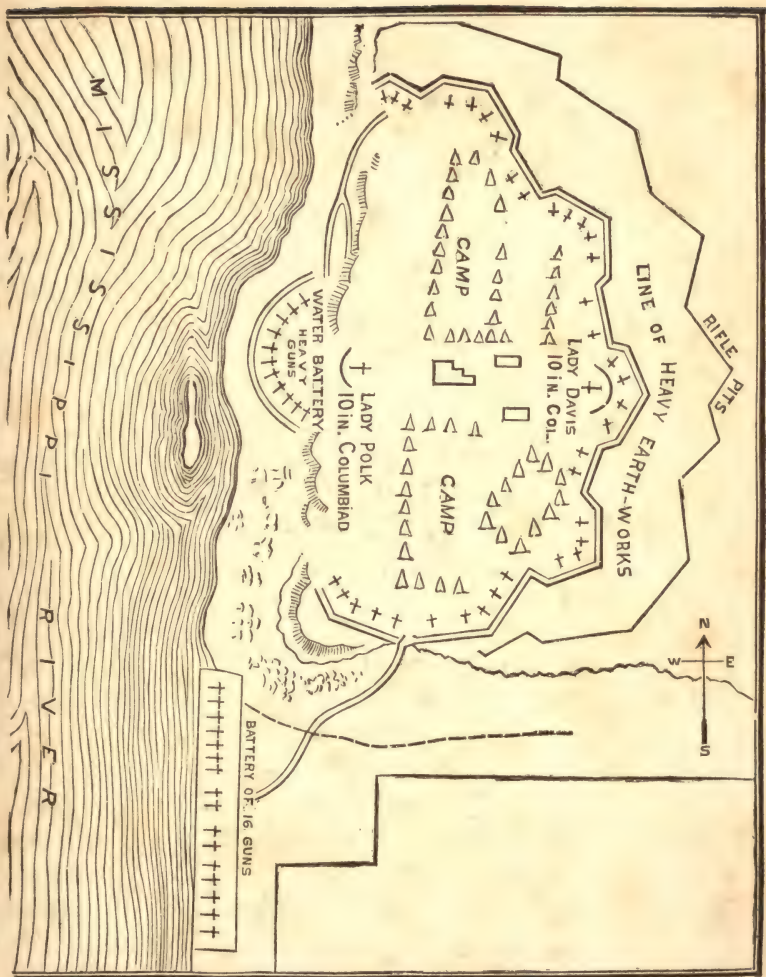
reconnoissance and to this end embarked nine miles below Cairo, so as to make a stealthy approach upon the enemy from the rear. In the meantime Gen. Smith, commanding at Paducah, had been ordered by Gen. Grant to take a considerable force and make a demonstration near Columbus, in order to lead the Confederates to suppose that a combined attack was contemplated on that place, which fully succeeded. In this way the enemy was entirely put off his guard as to Belmont, the real point of attack.

On the morning of Nov. 7th, McClelland's force appeared on the river bank near Belmont and began driving in the Confederate sentries and outposts. A reserve battalion was left near the transports, while two companies were sent out as skirmishers to bring on the engagement. Gen. Polk now seeing that even if Columbus were the object of principal attack, Tappan must be supported, sent Gen. Pillow across to his relief. Gen. Logan rode at the head of the 7th Iowa 31st, and seeing that re-enforcements would soon reach the enemy, begged McClelland to order a charge that would crush the enemy at once. This McClelland refused to do, overestimating Tappan's strength, but directed his attention to cutting off the re-enforcements, himself taking charge of the right wing while Logan was to attack the center. A terrific contest resulted, which lasted for over half an hour. Betzhausen held McClelland in check, but Logan broke the enemy's center and sent the Confederates flying in disorder over the field, obliging Pillow to bring up his reserve artillery of three batteries; these unlimbering, checked Logan's advance until the two wings could be reunited. Pillow now realized that his position was critical, and sent a message to Polk for more troops, but Polk still believed that Columbus was threatened and refused the aid so badly

needed. Logan now suggested a general onslaught, which was adopted by McClernand, and the battle was begun again with renewed violence. Logan was in front, with his long hair streaming in the wind, and with brandished sword shouting, "Come on, 31st Illinois." Inspired by his gallant conduct, the bold initiators followed their leader and drove the enemy from tree to tree, foot by foot, and finally pell mell down the river bank and under protection of the guns from Columbus, cutting Pillow's division so severely that he was unable to reform it into companies.

At this point the enemy was re-enforced by 4,500 fresh men who threw themselves against McClernand in front, flank and rear, and threatened to cut him off from his transports. McClernand was therefore forced to slowly retreat until his reserves were reached, where fresh troops and more artillery were brought into action, and the battle was re-commenced. Logan having cut through and followed the fleeing enemy, was suddenly confronted by re-enforcements under Gen. Cheatham. Nothing now but desperate chances could save his command, which was opposed by overwhelming odds. Ordering his men to lie down, until by strategy the enemy's fire was drawn, Logan sounded the charge, leading it with those same words, "Come on," he swept through the opposing ranks like an avalanche, and reformed speedily in the enemy's rear, with a junction completed with Grant. A murderous fire was now opened upon the Confederates who were still crossing the river from Columbus, which was answered by the guns from the fortifications as the scattered Confederates massed or retreated to the river bank. There were now fully 13,000 rebels opposing 5,000 Union troops, and so disposed that while there was victory in one part of the field, defeat was taking place in another. Besides, our

PLAN OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AT COLUMBUS.





troops had been continuously engaged from ten o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon, and were nearly exhausted. Re-enforcements continually arrived to support the enemy, and it became necessary to retreat with activity to avoid disaster. To do this, Logan was ordered to protect the rear, which he did with great gallantry and success. Seeing a weakness on the Confederate left, he made a charge with such impetuosity that he broke their line and captured one hundred and fifty prisoners, thus giving a brilliant finish to a desperate battle that developed from a reconnoissance. Our troops reached their transports in good order and embarked for Cairo with the prisoners Col. Logan had so felicitously captured. Our losses in this engagement were about three hundred, while those of the Confederates were reported as two thousand.

CHAPTER VIII.

The battle of Belmont fully initiated into the horror and vicissitudes of war, the 31st Illinois, and a desire for more glory made them restless to go upon other fields where grow the green laurels that crown heroes. They had not long to wait, for Cairo was the great distributing center from whence nearly all manœuvres and operations in the western department were directed. Forts Henry and Donelson, which blockaded the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers respectively, were serious obstacles to preventing a penetration of the Southern States, and interposing a barrier against the effective operation of Buell and Halleck's armies in Kentucky. It was therefore decided to reduce these forts at the earliest possible moment before a greater concentration of Confederate troops could be made at these places. To mask his real purpose, Gen. Grant continued his threatening attitude towards Columbus, and so skillfully were the movements of troops conducted that Columbus was heavily re-enforced in anticipation of a daily attack. Suddenly, after making a formidable demonstration in the vicinity of Columbus, the Federal forces were returned to Cairo and from thence moved towards Ft. Henry. Gen. Buell had just achieved a victory at Mill Springs, and moving southward led to an immediate supposition that an advance into Tennessee by way of Knoxville, was contemplated, and the Confederates at once begun massing in that vicinity. This served to largely discount the advantages which had been gained by drawing large forces of the enemy into Columbus, from points which our

troops desired to occupy. The President's order was, however, for making an advance all along the line from Maassas to Columbus, and delay was therefore not permitted.

Gen. Grant commanding, moved up the Tennessee under Com. Foote's flotilla of seven gun boats. Reaching the vicinity of Ft. Henry, a reconnoissance was made by the boats for the purpose of getting the range of the batteries, in which attempt the steamer Essex was pierced with a thirty-two pound shot, which, however, did little damage. On Thursday, the 14th of February, 1862, Commodore Foote opened on the fort from the steamers Essex, Carondelet, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Conestoga, Tyler and Lexington, and at the same time a column consisting of eleven regiments of McClellan's division were marched to a point on the road leading to Dover, while ten regiments under Gen. F. C. Smith that had camped at Fort Heiman, moved out and the two forces consolidated for a simultaneous attack with the gun boats. Logan was there with his flashing sword, keen eye and brave heart, leading and cheering his men, a conspicuous and cheering figure. When the gun boats opened their fire there followed quickly a rattle of musketry, but a charge upon the fort was impossible by reason of its location, being surrounded by water. The fight lasted less than an hour, however, as Gen. Tilghman, the Confederate commander, saw that the fort could not long hold out, and that if he did not avail himself of the opportunity for escape very soon, his army must surrender.

With the capture of Ft. Henry, Alabama was open to our forces, and it now only remained to break the blockade at Dover to lay open the whole of Tennessee and the South.

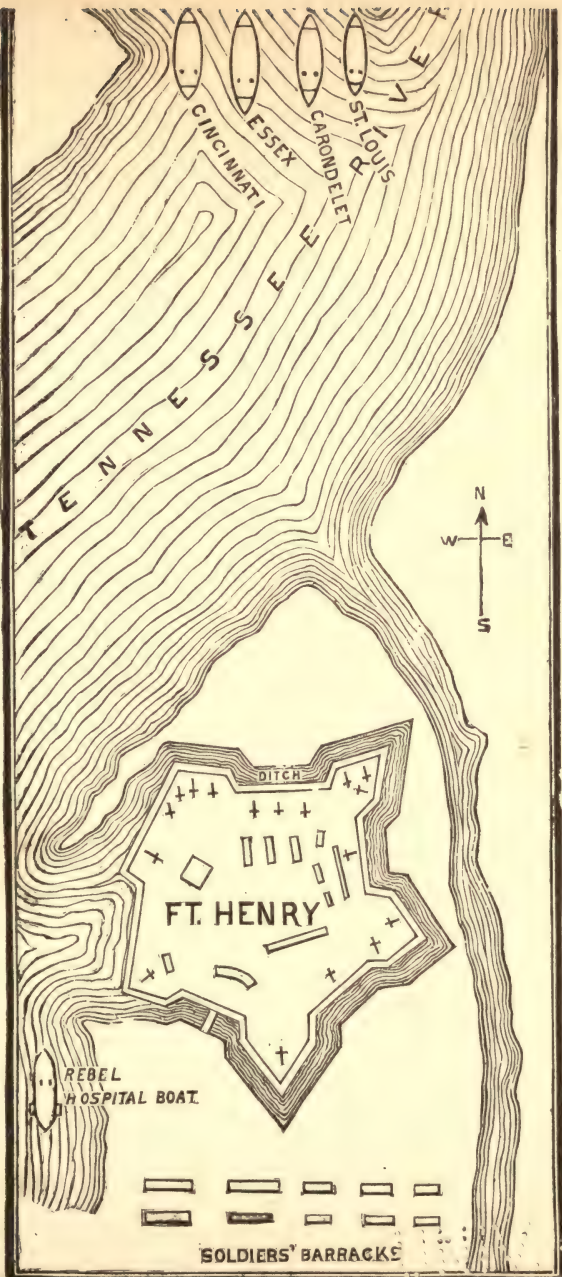
Six days were unavoidably lost on account of repairs necessary to the gun-boats that had been injured in the action

at Ft. Henry, so that it was not until the 12th that Col. Mc Clernand and Smith's divisions of 20,000 men, including 15 batteries and 1,500 cavalry, started for Ft. Donelson, twelve miles distant from Ft. Henry. On the following day the army encamped in front of the fort and begun skirmishing to test the enemy's strength and to find his line of works which, owing to the nature of the ground, was difficult to do. The Confederate pickets were pushed back to their defenses and our army rested on the night of the 13th, on a line in general parallelism with that of the enemy.

During the night batteries were posted in the most favorable positions then accessible, and on the following morning at break of day, it was the intention to begin the battle, but none of the gun-boats had yet arrived, and it was therefore necessary to keep up a demonstration merely, without assaulting, and wait until a combined attack from land and water could be made. Birge's sharp-shooters, however, took a position within 300 yards of the lower line of fortifications and begun their effective service, while the Illinois troops took positions, at night, as near as the nature of the ground would then allow.

On the morning of the 14th the gun-boats having arrived the battle opened with great earnestness by an advance of the Illinois regiments, followed by the Fourteenth Iowa and the Twenty-fifth Indiana, who, despite a withering fire from the intrenchments, pushed across the ravine which separated their first position from the fortifications up to within forty rods of the enemy. Logan headed the noble Thirty-first over the thick brush which impeded the charge, and almost to the blazing rifles that mowed down his men. No amount of courage could withstand such murderous fire, and the attacking regiments gave way. Speedily reforming, however,

PLAN OF FORT HENRY.



they rushed again to the breech and bared their heroic bosoms to that dreadful storm of hail. Always where the storm was heaviest, rode the gallant Logan, and in this second charge he defied death in his bold resolve to do his duty as a soldier and patriot. But again the cyclone of death blew too dreadfully for human endurance, and discretion, which goes with bravery, demanded that the troops retire. Thrice was the charge led by Logan, but torn, bleeding, decimated, his broken columns were forced to fall back after an unrelenting contest of more than an hour's duration. That heroic division was Oglesby's brigade, in which Logan had identified himself not alone as Colonel but as the most cheering examples of gallantry that had yet been given in the war.

The battle extended along the lines, involving, at seven A. M., two regiments of W. H. L. Wallace's brigade, supporting Oglesby on the left. These were the Eleventh and Twentieth Illinois, under Ransom and Marsh. A Confederate column charged up the hill in their front, and gained the road—the one west of the river road—but were repulsed, giving way to a fresh line, which advanced boldly to repeat the assault. Wallace brought nearly his entire brigade, consisting of 3,400 men, upon the hill, and, with the assistance of Taylor's and McAllister's batteries, again and again drove back the defiant foe.

It was now half past eight o'clock, and re-enforcements from the center of the line, held by Lew. Wallace, were moving past to the extreme right, which, bent out of its original line, was yet obstinately disputing every step of ground. Lew. Wallace's division had been awakened in the morning by the noise of battle far away to their right, and had supposed that Oglesby was attacking the enemy. At

eight o'clock a message came from McClernand asking for assistance. Wallace had been ordered to hold the center at all risks, to prevent the enemy's escape in that direction. A messenger was dispatched to Grant's head-quarters, but the latter was on one of the gun-boats, consulting with Foote in regard to the possibilities of another naval attack. Lew. Wallace, receiving a second and more urgent message from McClernand, stating that his flank had already been turned, sent forthwith Colonel Cruft's brigade. This brigade, consisting of two Indiana and two Kentucky regiments, moved on to the woods beyond Taylor's battery, and nearly to the extreme right of the line. Here it became engaged with a column of the enemy emerging from a ravine in Oglesby's rear.

Oglesby's brigade, which had held on till the last, was now getting out of ammunition. Graves' battery, from the confederate intrenchments, had now more effective range than it had had all the morning, and thinned the ranks at every discharge. In good order the brigade gave way, breaking through Cruft's line in its retreat, and leaving the latter fearfully exposed to the sweeping fire of the enemy's infantry and artillery. Cruft had been misled by his guide, and had taken a position too far to the right, which he was soon compelled to abandon. Every thing now seemed to depend upon the steadfastness of W. H. L. Wallace's brigade. Upon his batteries, from three separate and commanding situations, the Confederate artillery was pouring its vials of wrath. Looking out upon his right hand, he could see Pillow's columns already pressing upon his rear. Between his brigade and them only a single regiment of Oglesby's command remained on the field. That regiment was the Thirty-first Illinois, commanded by Colonel John A.

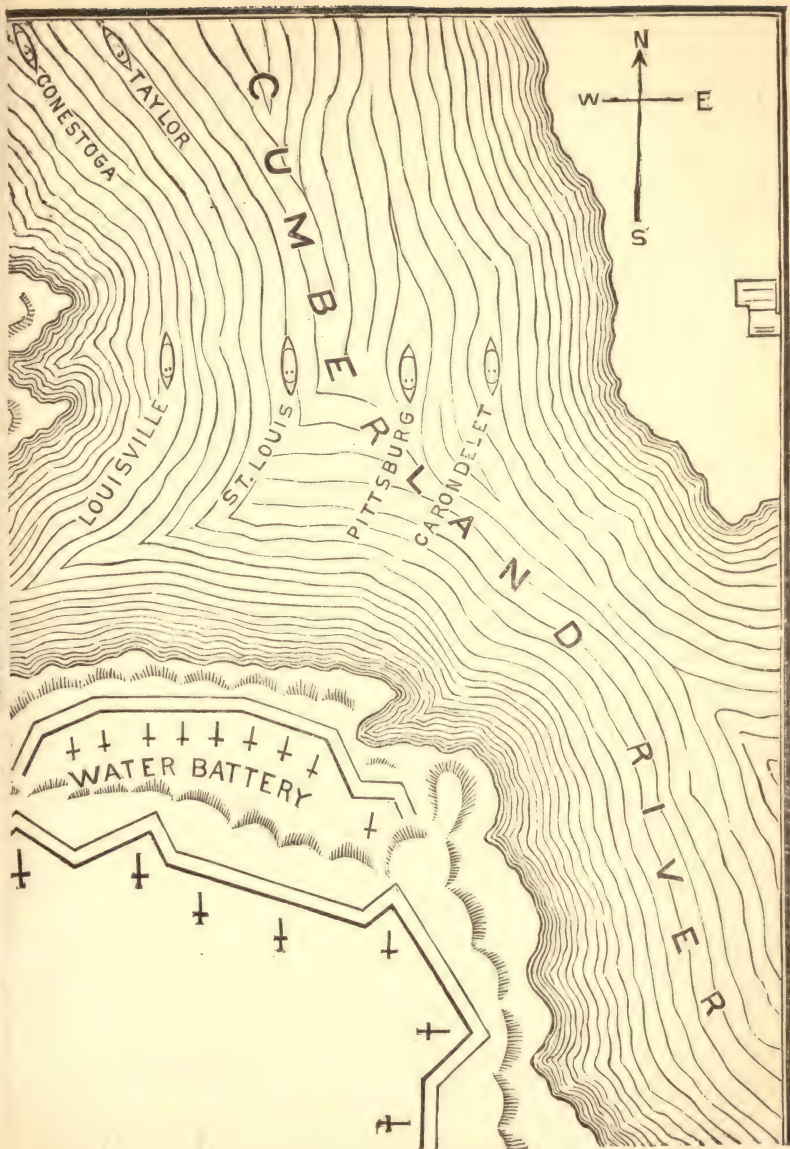
Logan, and shattered as it had been, its spirit, colors and leader were still there shouldering the brunt of battle and dealing out and receiving death. Charging again and again unmindful of danger, and reckoning of victory only, in the midst of the most galling fire, it would have been a miracle had Logan escaped injury; nor did he, for a musket ball went crashing through his thigh, tearing flesh and bone and breaking his saddle bow; but he did not waver; his sword still swung on high and his brave words, "come on," rolled back in enthusiastic echoes, for he knew that the Thirty-first would follow. Only one regiment, on whom devolved the fate of a battle, and its leader shot almost to death; can the world match such heroism? In a moment of the battle's quiet, Logan ordered a surgeon to dress his wound. It was only rudely bandaged in the haste of fighting, and the surgeon advised him to seek the hospital; that his wound was very dangerous and any aggravation of it would almost surely cause death.

Logan's reply was worthy of a Spartan: "In such an hour as this there is no time for anything but fighting; I have fired twenty-two rounds since this wound was received and I can fire as many more now that it is dressed." With this, by his orders, he was assisted back into the saddle and again leading on the brave men that had survived the leaden storms, he fought with unabated fury until not a cartridge remained with one of his followers.

The brigade was forced to fall back, which it did sullenly, and in good order, until they refilled their cartridge-boxes. This necessity gave the Confederates renewed hopes, and for a time they drove our troops in nearly all parts of the field. Between Pillow's advance and the retiring troops Thayer's brigade was interposed, being advanced to the tip of the

ridge, and there formed in a line at right angles with the old one. This was the nucleus for a new front. Wood's battery, a portion of the Chicago light artillery, was posted in the road along which the enemy must advance—at its right an Illinois and Nebraska, and at its left an Illinois and Ohio regiment. Two Illinois and an Ohio regiment were held in reserve. In the meantime, McClelland's men were refilling their cartridge-boxes. Cruft's brigade had joined Thayer's on the right, and Taylor's battery was brought to bear on the enemy, whose advance was now completely checked. Now the waves of battle began to flow backward against the Confederates.

At three o'clock General Grant rode up the hill and ordered an advance against the retiring ranks of the enemy. At McClelland's request, Lew. Wallace, whose troops were comparatively fresh, undertook the assault. Cruft's brigade, headed by the Eighth Missouri and the Eleventh Indiana, from Smith's division, with two Ohio regiments in reserve, formed the assailing column. The ground to be gained was in great part the same which had been given up in the forenoon. Across the valley or extended ravine in Wallace's front was the ridge which had been last yielded. Here the Confederates were re-forming their line. Up this ridge a charge was made by two Missouri and Indiana regiments, led by Colonel M. L. Smith, while Cruft moved around the base of the hill to the right. Before Smith lay an ascent of one hundred and fifty yards, "broken by outcropping ledges of rock, and, for the most part, impeded by dense underbrush." Cruft had to make his way around upon the enemy's flank through brushwood. At intervals up the hill Smith's skirmishers were rapidly advanced, and a lively bushwhacking followed between them and the



Confederate pickets, each side taking shelter, as opportunity offered, behind rock and tree. Slowly the two regiments followed, and, when less than fifty yards had been gained, received a volley from the hill-top. It now fared hard with the skirmishers. Smith ordered his men to lay down, and when the violence of the fire was exhausted, they rose again and pushed on up the hill. Thus falling when the fire was hottest, and then rising again, they at last reached the top, and Cruft at the same time attacking the enemy on the hill-side, the ridge was cleared. The fight and pursuit lasted for two hours, and by five o'clock the enemy had entirely disappeared from the field, taking refuge in his intrenchments.

Logan had all this time, fully six hours, been constantly in the saddle, which he was enabled to do only by the exercise of great resolution and excitement. The pain from the wound, though intense, he could endure, but loss of blood in addition to the pain made him so weak and sick that he could no longer keep the saddle. He remained on the field until he saw that the surrender of the fort was assured, and the reaction upon his spirits which followed, compelled him to receive surgical attention at the hospital.

The severity of Colonel Logan's wound is indicated by the fact that he was confined to bed, under the most skilful surgeons, for five weeks, and did not fully recover for nearly one year, though he reported for duty and participated in the battle of Pittsburg Landing in the April following.

CHAPTER IX.

The intense suffering which Logan endured as he lay on his bed under a surgeon's care, did not diminish the anxiety he had first felt at his country's peril. On March 5th he received his commission as Brigadier-General of volunteers as a reward for his gallantry at Donaldson. He seized and read every paper that could be obtained, reporting operations of our army in the front, and these and his new commission, so increased his restlessness; that he could not restrain the ambition which continually drew him toward the camp; therefore, while his wound was still unhealed and extremely sore, he joined his command in time to participate in the bloody fight at Pittsburg Landing, April 6th. There, and at Shiloh, he again led what remained of the Thirty-first, and carried it into three of the most desperate charges that were made during the war; their tracks were gory and covered with dead and dying, but these were not to be regarded until after the battle, and so they reaped an unwinnowed that dreadful red field, until victory was torn from defeat. Here Logan received another wound in the arm, but to him it was only a trifle while the smoke of battle rolled up responsive to echoing thunder that flowed fast on sheets of flame from cannon and musketry. This wound needed only a bandage, for the spirit which inspired him was so brave that fighting strength, though disadvantaged, kept him in the fray.

At the siege of Corinth, which soon followed, Logan and the heroic Thirty-first added new lustre to the already burnished shields they wore. The highest military authority a

the time, Gen. Sherman, in making his report of the battle, paid this tribute to Col. Logan's bravery and military skill:

"I feel under special obligations to Col. John A. Logan who; during the two days he served under me (at Corinth), held the entire ground on my right extending down to the railroad. All the time he had in his front a large force of the enemy, but so dense was the forest he could not reckon their strength, save what he could see upon the railroad."

Of Logan's gallant conduct at Ft. Donaldson, Gen. McClelland, commanding the division, in his report wrote the following: "Schwartz's battery being left unsupported by the retirement of the Twenty-ninth, the Thirty-first boldly rushed to its defense, and at the same moment received the combined attack of the forces on the right and of others in the front, supposed to have been led by Gen. Buckner. The danger was imminent, and called for a change of disposition adapted to meet it, which Col. Logan made by forming the right wing of his batallion at an angle with the left. In this order he supported the battery, which continued to play upon the enemy and held him in check until his regiment's supply of ammunition was entirely exhausted."

To this report Col. Richard J. Oglesby, commanding the First brigade, added the following: "Turning to the Thirty-first, which yet held its place in line, I ordered Col. Logan to throw back his right, so as to form a crochet on the right of the Eleventh Illionis. In this way Col. Logan held in check the advancing foe for some time, under the most destructive fire, whilst I endeavored to assist Col. Craft with his brigade in finding a position on the right of the Thirty-first. It was now four hours since fighting began in the morning. The cartridge boxes of the Thirty-first were nearly empty; Col.

Logan had been severely wounded, and Lieutenant-Colonel John H. White, with thirty others, had fallen dead on the field and a large number wounded. In this condition Col. Logan brought off the remainder of his regiment in good order."

After the occupation of Corinth, Gen. Logan's brigade guarded the rail communications between that point and Jackson, Tennessee, so that for a season they enjoyed a well deserved rest.

During the summer, Gen. Logan was importuned by the people of his old district to accept a nomination at their hands for Congress, but declined, and upon receiving continued petitions replied in a letter to the Chairman of the Republican Committee of the district as follows:

"In reply I would most respectfully remind you that a compliance with your request on my part would be a departure from the settled resolution with which I resumed my sword in defense and for the perpetuity of a government, the like and blessings of which no other nation or age shall enjoy, if once suffered to be weakened or destroyed. In making this reply, I feel that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon what were or are, or may hereafter be, my political views, but would simply state that politics of every grade and character whatsoever, are now ignored by me, since I am convinced that the constitution and life of the Republic—which I shall never cease to adore—are in danger. I express all my views and politics when I assert my attachment to the Union. I have no other politics now, and consequently no aspirations for civil place or power. Ambitious men, who have not a true love for their country at heart, may bring forth crude and bootless questions to agitate the pulse of our troubled country and thwart the preservation of this

Union; but for none of such am I. I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war for preservation is an accomplished fact."

Nobler sentiments were never expressed; a purer devotion, more unselfish patriotism, was never exhibited; it was an exhibition of such loyalty as only the purest in heart can feel. It proved that Logan was a patriot above everything else; that he subordinated friendship, private interests, personal aggrandizement, and every ambition for exaltation to the one supreme, overruling desire for a re-establishment of the Union, unsullied and undivided. So fond an attachment to his country and generous appreciation for our benign institutions of pure republicanism made even the political enemies of Logan admire, if not love him. That letter, so full of passionate devotion, added much to his already great reputation in Southern Illinois, and the effects which it produced have not yet been wasted by the time that has intervened.

CHAPTER X.

Gen. Logan displayed such skill and bravery in Grant's campaign of the Northern Mississippi, in 1862 and 1863, that he was made a Major-General, the commission dating from November 26, 1862. As the commander of the Third Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, under General McPherson, he took part in the battle of Port Gibson, fought with distinguished personal bravery at the battle of Raymond, on the 12th of May, helped drive the rebels out of Jackson two days later, and was in the battle of Champion's Hill May 16th.

Champion Hill, or Baker's Creek, was on the line of march to Vicksburg, and not more than five miles from that city. Pemberton, commanding the Confederate forces at Vicksburg, had reports of the Federal movements in force, and marched out in obedience to an order from Gen. Johnston, to form a junction of the two commands. Our troops, however, intercepted the two Confederate commands, first skirmishing with Johnston. Gen. Pemberton, hearing the firing, took up a strong position along a ridge of hills, east of Edward's Station, on the right bank of Baker's Creek, covering his front with cavalry skirmishers and artillery. Gen A. J. Smith first found Pemberton, and a lively fight ensued for nearly half an hour, when Smith drew off to await re-enforcements. McPherson engaged Johnson at about the same time, and though not nearly equal to the enemy in number, he fought with such persistence and generalship as more than made up for his deficiency in men.

General Logan, being second in command, led Stevenson's brigade, in his division, in such a brilliant charge against the enemy's flank that he drove them down a hill in utter rout, capturing seven pieces of artillery, five hundred prisoners, and cut off the Confederate General, Loring, who was on the Vicksburg road, trying to reach the city. This grand and auspicious movement on the part of Logan not only discomfited the enemy but gave McClernand's division time to come up, and a consolidation was then effected that speedily drove the Confederates pell mell into Vicksburg, and resulted in the capture of a large amount of ammunition. In Logan's resistless charge General Tilghman, who commanded the Confederate garrison at Ft. Henry, was killed, and five hundred prisoners taken. The wonderful intrepidity and skilful manœuvering of Gen. Logan was so marked that he rose in the army as he had before in public position proving, in both official and military life, a genius deserving of honor, confidence, and love from every patriot. He is the only soldier in all history that ever rose from private to the high rank of Major-General, and yet this advancement was made in but little more than one year.

Though his promotion in November, 1862, was to the rank of Major-General, it was not until after the battle of Champion Hills that he was confirmed and given command of the Third Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps. This action was at a most opportune time, for it was just before beginning a siege of Vicksburg, when his strength as a great military commander could be put to the test.

On the 17th of May, Pemberton marched into Vicksburg, followed closely by our pursuing troops, who began an investiture of the city on the 18th. On the 19th the left corps of the besieging army advanced to within two miles

of Vicksburg, drove in the Confederate pickets and at 2 P. M. began a general assault. At this time Gen. Logan had his right resting on the Mississippi, in plain view of Porter's fleet at the mouth of the Yazoo and at Young's Point, while his front, in sight of Vicksburg, was separated from the enemy by only four hundred yards of very difficult ground, cut up by almost impracticable ravines. The Fourth Iowa Cavalry had taken possession of Haines' Bluff, and communication had been opened with Admiral Porter.

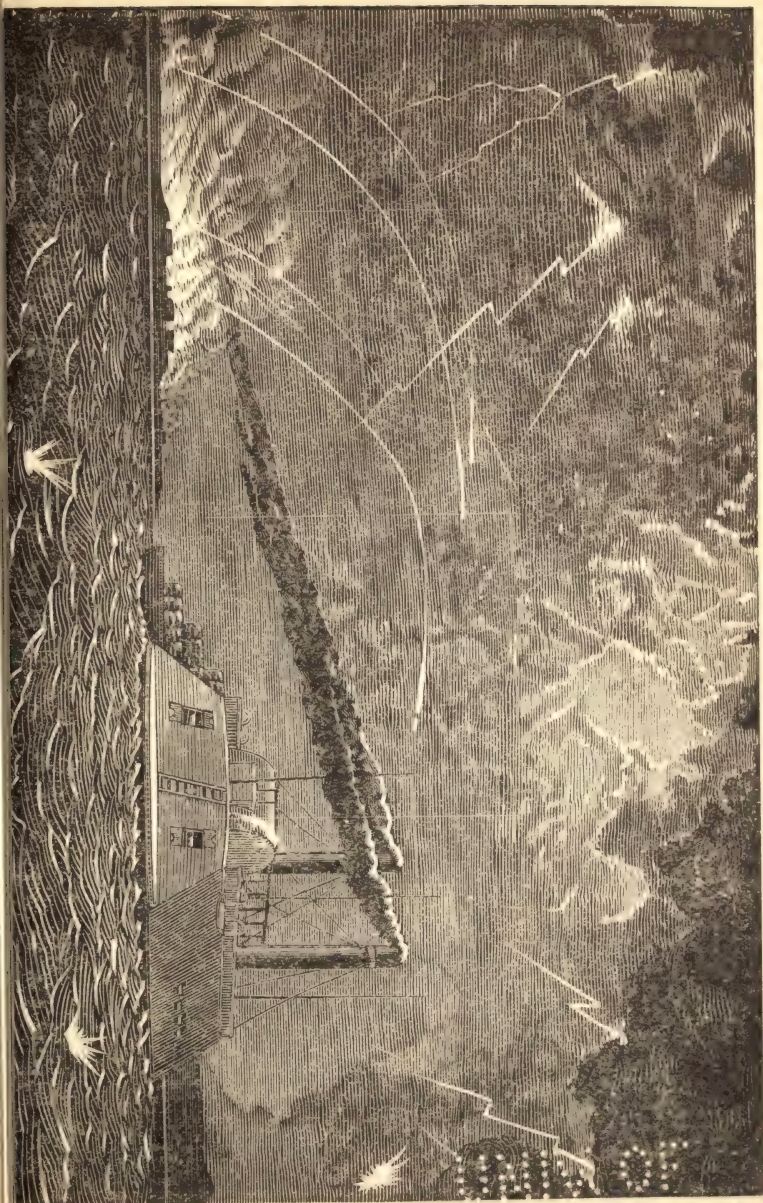
Logan alone was in a position to make a determined attack; and Grant, counting on the demoralization of the enemy, hoped by a vigorous onset against the Confederate left to win an immediate victory. At the hour designated Blair's division moved forward, with Ewing's and Giles Smith's brigades on the right of the road, and T. K. Smith's on the left, artillery being disposed in the rear to cover the point where the road entered the Confederate intrenchments. Tuttle's division held the road, Buckland's brigade, however, being deployed to Blair's rear. The assault was not successful, though it was a most gallant affair. Gen. Logan, regardless of the custom which usually keeps commanding officers in the rear, rode forward with flashing sword and gleaming eyes, shouting brave words to his men and stimulating them by his fearless courage. The line advanced across the intervening chasms, filled with standing and fallen timber, up to the trenches, and the Thirteenth Regulars (Giles Smith's left) reaching the works first, succeeded in planting its colors upon the outer slope; but this was effected at a cost of seventy-seven out of two hundred and fifty men, the commander of the regiment, Captain Washington, being mortally wounded and five other officers

more or less severely. Almost simultaneously two other regiments (the Eighty-third Indiana and the One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Illinois) reached the same position, but, though able to hold their ground by making it fatally hazardous for any head to appear above the parapet, they could not enter the works. Other regiments on either side obtained similar positions, but night came on finding them still outside the works, which they could only threaten but not take, and when darkness came on Gen. Logan withdrew his advanced column to a position less exposed.

The next two days were spent collecting supplies and preparing for another assault, which was ordered by Grant to take place at 10 o'clock on the 22d. At the hour appointed, Gen. Logan's assailing column, consisting of Blair's division (G. A. Smith's and T. K. Smith's brigades), led by Hugh Ewing's brigade, advanced along a road selected the night before. This road followed the crown of an interior ridge, being thus partially sheltered, and finally entered the parapet of the enemy's works at a shoulder of the bastion. Tuttle supported Blair, and Steele, from his position half a mile to the right, attacked simultaneously the enemy in his front. As Blair advanced, not a head could be seen above the enemy's works, except now and then that of some sharp-shooter, who quickly discharged his piece and then disappeared. To keep these down, a line of picked skirmishers was placed. The advancing column was led by a volunteer storming-party of 150 men, carrying boards and poles to bridge the ditch. Meanwhile five batteries concentrated their fire on the bastion commanding the approach; but no enemy appeared, although the assailing column, as it came upon the crown of the ridge, was fully exposed. Unassailed the storming-party had reached

the salient of the bastion, and passed toward the sally-port, followed closely by Ewing's brigade, when from behind the parapet rose the enemy in double rank, and poured on the head of the column a terrific fire, staggering and sweeping it back to cover. The rear pressed on, but vainly attempted to brave this reserved storm of bullets. Still undaunted, Ewing's advance shifted to the left, crossed the ditch, climbed up the outer face of the bastion, and planted its colors near the top, burrowing in the earth from the fire upon its flank. Giles Smith's brigade meanwhile formed line in a ravine, and threatened the parapet 300 yards to the left of the bastion, while Kilby Smith, from the slope of a spur, assisted by Ewing's brigade, kept up a constant fire on any object appearing above the parapet. Logan was in the field always where he was most needed, cheering and leading on his men, and with heroic endeavor trying to break over the wall of deadly flame that ran along the assailed parapets, charging again and again, but each time hurled back by a withering fire that nothing living could withstand. For ten long hours did this dreadful fighting last, and until more than three thousand brave Union boys lay piled in ghastly confusion over the bloody ground. In the afternoon, at 4 o'clock, Gen. Logan moved his men up in solid phalanx, until he held the side of the parapet opposite the enemy, so close that the glowering eyes of opposing troops could be seen flashing fire and hatred, but his men melted rapidly away under a flame of fire that compelled them to withdraw, and except from Porter's fleet, the firing ceased for the night.

The siege of Vicksburg followed the unsuccessful assaults of the 19th and 22d. All through the hot days of May and June lay the Federal forces, digging under the forti-



fications; pushing closer gradually but surely, while the mortar and gunboats kept up a continued cannonading. The Confederates manifested a most remarkable heroism, keeping a bold front when starvation threatened and when there was not a place in the entire city secure from the bursting bombs which screamed and exploded at all hours both day and night.

At length, by continual fighting, the Federals surrounded the city, a large force under McPherson having taken up a position on the south; but it was impossible to convey supplies by land to McPherson's corps on account of the Confederates who still rendered unsafe the only road by which the army lying on the south of the city could be reached. To provide relief, Gen. Logan ordered seven steamers and the gunboat Carondelet, loaded with supplies, and manning the former with his own men he ran the batteries at night. Although detected by the Confederates and fired upon by more than a hundred cannon, the steamers passed the blockade safely and landed their supplies in good condition.

It was not long after this successful breaking of the blockade that Gen. Pemberton, unable to continue the defense any longer, proposed terms for capitulation. Before meeting Pemberton, Grant sent for Logan and held a lengthy conference with him concerning the terms upon which he should treat for the surrender of Vicksburg. When the surrender was completed, on July 4th, Gen. Logan's corps was given the special honor of leading the march into the city, as a recognition of the great gallantry of himself and men. As a further mark of honor Grant made him Military Governor of Vicksburg, and at the same time the Seventeenth Army Corps, to express the admiration they felt for their brave commander, presented him with a gold medal on

which was inscribed the names of nine battles in which he had distinguished himself. Such a record, won in so short a time, is without precedent, if we may except that alone of Napoleon. Logan appeared not only to bear a charmed life, but was moved in battle almost by inspiration; his every act seemed particularly opportune, and fortune always stood ready to take his hand in every dire extremity. At Belmont a horse was shot under him and his pistol shattered; at Donelson he received a desperate wound; at Corinth he was again wounded; and yet these only served to make him more determined, seeming to assure him that he might be shot, but never killed; and, indeed, the chances he took in battle apparently confirmed this opinion. The medal received at Vicksburg was a most appropriate mark of the esteem in which he was held by the boys who had followed him in so many charges.

CHAPTER XI.

As commander of the post at Vicksburg, Gen. Logan gave perfect satisfaction, regardful for the personal rights of property holders of the city, whether they were Southern sympathizers or loyal to the North; like all brave men, he knew how to be generous to a stricken foe. In the fall he returned to Illinois for a short vacation, but did not spend the time resting, for he saw that there was still a feeling of hatred among the people of Southern Illinois, who masked their real sentiments behind declarations that the war was a failure and ought not to be supported. He therefore took the stump and made several speeches, especially addressed to the lukewarm adherents of the Union, and in burning language condemned every man who was unwilling to support the war which had for its object the guarantee of human rights as against disunion and oppression. His speeches fired the people of Illinois with enthusiasm, and caused the enlistment of several new regiments.

Having administered the duties of his position at Vicksburg for some months, Logan, at his own request for more active duty, was once more placed in the field. On the 27th of October, 1863, the President appointed him to the command of the Fifteenth Army corps, thereby relieving Major-General Francis P. Blair, who was soon to take his seat in Congress as the Representative of the First district of Illinois. He succeeded Sherman at the head of the Fifteenth Army corps in November, 1863, and when McPherson lost his life on the 22d of July, Logan succeeded him and com-

manded the Army of the Tennessee with the same ability and success which had characterized his command of smaller numbers.

The campaign about Atlanta was one of sharp fighting, and one in which Gen. Logan won fresh laurels to add to the already large crown he wore.

In the formation of the Army of the Tennessee for operations in the southeast, Gen. Logan was given charge of the Fifteenth, and portions of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth corps, the whole being under McPherson, as ranking General. To this force was added the cavalry in the Army of the Ohio, and also the Army of the Cumberland. With this consolidated army, Sherman prepared for his march to the sea.

On the 25th of March, 1864, Sherman set out on a general tour of inspection through his department, consulting with McPherson, Logan, Thomas and Schofield. The value of the possession of Chattanooga was now manifest. This position was the central buttress of the Federal position. On its left, East Tennessee was firmly grasped by Schofield's army; on its right the Tennessee River was guarded by a line of garrison, which permitted the access northward of cavalry only. In the rear were two good and reliable lines of railway communication from Nashville to Memphis. During the season of navigation the Tennessee River affords a third line. Having arranged with his subordinates the disposition of their several armies—how many should take the field, and how many be retained for garrison duty—Sherman returned to Nashville. At this time the citizens of Tennessee in his rear were in large measure sustained by stores which they shared with the army. Finding that this double want could not be supplied with safety to the army, he issued orders cutting off the supply of the citizens, and

leaving them to other sources of relief. The first of May was the time fixed for the completion of preparations, and by that time the store-houses of Chattanooga contained provisions for thirty days, and the ammunition trains were fully supplied. The veteran regiments, whose time had expired, and who had been released on furlough, now returned with their ranks filled by new recruits.

Sherman had intended to move against the enemy with 100,000 men of all arms, and 250 guns. His actual force on the 1st of May was 98,797 men and 254 guns. The Army of the Cumberland, numbering 60,773 men, with 130 guns, constituted three-fifths of his entire command. The Army of the Tennessee numbered 24,465, with 96 guns, and that of the Ohio 13,559, with 28 guns. Sherman's whole force was distributed as follows among the three arms of the service: the infantry of the three armies numbered 88,188 men; the artillery 4,450, with 254 guns; the cavalry 6,149.

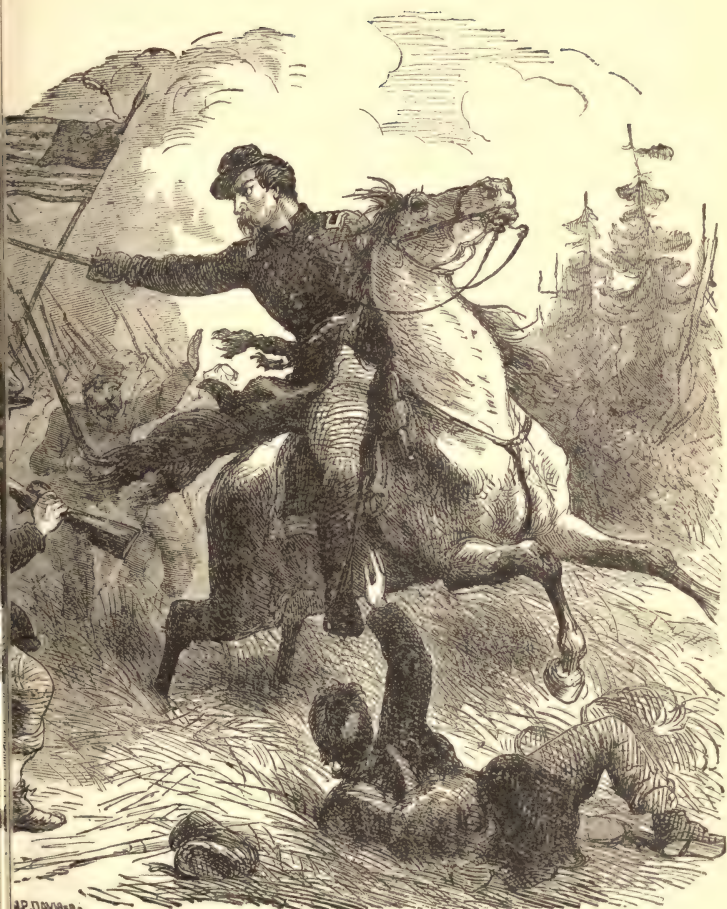
From Ringold, the advanced front of the Federal army, to Atlanta, was nearly one hundred miles across an exceedingly rough country. Atlanta was the heart not only of Georgia, but of the Confederacy itself, being its principal granary and the manufacturing center which supplied the Southern armies with cannon, ammunition, clothing and equipments generally. It was therefore the back-bone and vitals, so to speak, of the South and, therefore, to capture this place meant a suppression of the rebellion.

Ringold lies amid the mountains of Taylor's Ridge on the main road leading from Chattanooga to Dalton. Ten miles from Ringold is Buzzard's Roost Pass, a wild glen, dreary in aspect and treacherous in surroundings, affording excellent means for ambush, which, at the time of which I

am writing, was seriously to be apprehended. Four miles from this pass lay Dalton which was occupied by 25,000 Confederates under Johnston, while other Confederate forces were disposed at points so near as to permit of a quick consolidation.

On the 4th of May the army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, and on the same day Grant telegraphed to Sherman, reminding him that the time for his advance against Johnston had come. Sherman neither intended, nor did Johnston expect, an assault on the position covering Dalton—Buzzard's Roost Pass—which was obstructed by abatis, and flooded by means of dams across Mill Creek. Probably in no campaign of the war did the two opposing commanders so completely fathom each other's purpose, or so carefully estimate the possibilities, the one for attack and the other for defense. Sherman, on the 6th of May, with his largest army, that of the Cumberland, menaced Rocky Face Ridge with such vigor that it would seem as if an attempt like that made five months before against Missionary Ridge was to be repeated against the formidable position held by Johnston at Buzzard's Roost. Schofield threatened at the same time the enemy's right flank. McPherson's army, from Lee and Gordon's Mill, was thrown to the left and rear, moving by way of Ship's Gap, Villanow, and Snake Creek Gap to Resaca, eighteen miles south of Dalton, on the Atlanta Railroad. With this flanking column McPherson was ordered to break the railroad to the extent of his opportunity, and then to retire to Snake Creek Gap and there fortify himself.

Gen. Logan became very impatient at the demonstrations made, being anxious to participate an onslaught against Johnston before re-enforcements for the enemy



LOGAN LEADING THE CHARGE AT KENESAW MOUNTAIN.



ould arrive, but his superiors were deceived by Johnston's bold front, exaggerating the force that was under him.

On the 12th of May Johnston evacuated Dalton, and retreated to Resaca where he fortified himself, and here, on May 14th, he was attacked. Schofield and Thomas struck the enemy's right and center but were repulsed with considerable loss; the attack on the left, led by Logan, was successful, however, driving the Confederates from their position and almost completely destroying the Confederate, Gen. Polk's, division, besides capturing many prisoners and guns. This victory won by Logan caused Johnston to evacuate Resaca. He was followed persistently by McPherson and every step was fought doggedly, for the Confederates bravely contested the ground, yielding it slowly, and giving hot battle again at New Hope Church, where Logan fought with his corps a short but one of the most dreadful encounters of the war, in which, with a force inferior in point of number, to the enemy, drove the Confederates nearly one mile, with great slaughter.

Johnston adapting his movements to those of Sherman, transferred his whole army to a point on the railroad north of Marietta, where Kenesaw on his right, Pine Mountain in the advanced center, and Lost Mountain on his left, interposed a natural barrier to a direct approach from the north. While the Confederate army was intrenching itself in this formidable position, Sherman repaired the railroad in his rear, and brought forward to his camp an abundant supply of provisions. He also received re-enforcement. General Blair, with two divisions of the Seventeenth Corps (10,500 men) that had been on furlough, and Col. Long's brigade of cavalry, arrived at Ackworth June 8th.

On the 9th the army moved to Big Shanty, a station on

the railroad midway between Ackworth and Kenesaw. The triangular mountain fortress of Nature's construction here confronted Sherman. For the next twenty days the enemy held their position by fighting continually, and on the 23d, as Sherman reported, the whole country was one vast fort with Johnston holding fifty miles of connected trenches with abatis and finished batteries. Atlanta still lay just beyond the Chattahoochee, not five miles away, inviting but inaccessible.

Despite the rains which fell almost incessantly for three weeks, Sherman pressed on across the roaring ravines until he reached Kenesaw, where a great battle had to be fought, the Confederates having massed there to oppose the further advance of the Federals.

Sherman now determined to assault Kenesaw. It was a bold and Sherman-like thing to do, and certainly failure could not have been reckoned inevitable. The order was given on the 24th, and executed on the 27th. Two points were selected on the enemy's left centre—one at Little Kenesaw, in McPherson's front, the other a mile farther south, in front of Thomas. On the appointed day, after a vigorous cannonade, the armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland leaped forward to their terrible work, their assault falling mainly on Loring's and Hardee's corps. With a loss of less than five hundred men the Confederate position was maintained, and McPherson and Thomas were completely repulsed, losing altogether three thousand men, including General Harker, Colonel Dan. McCook, Colonel Rice and other valuable officers. Success in this assault would have been decisive of the campaign; it would have cut the enemy in two, prevented his retreat and exposed him to defeat in detail. But the question was whether

were wise or not to take such dreadful risks, which could not, even if successful, but prove a slaughter, for the Confederates were intrenched almost as solidly as though they held the pass of Thermopylæ. Gen. Logan, with Gen. McPherson, was at Gen. Sherman's headquarters when the assault on Kenesaw was decided upon. He at once protested, though at first scarcely believing that the intention to make the assault was earnest. When he discovered that it was really contemplated, he emphasized his protest, coupling it with the opinion that to send the troops against that mountain would only result in useless slaughter. Finding his opinion likely to be disregarded, he went still further and declared it to be a movement which, in his judgment, would be nothing less than the murder of brave men. In all of this he was warmly seconded by Gen. McPherson. They did not succeed in averting the slaughter. But afterward, when officers in the Army of the Cumberland heard that Gen. Thomas' protest in regard to the same matter had been in similar terms to that of Logan, a stronger liking than ever for Logan prevailed among those officers of the Cumberland Army who knew the facts. Thus he ever sought to protect his men whenever he saw that they were likely to be needlessly exposed.

But Logan was never a man to disobey orders, and when directed to make the attack he rode into the jaws of death, like the gallant six hundred at Balaklava, rode too at the head of his corps, regarding not his own danger, but suffering at the sight of his brave men falling like leaves in an autumnal gust, in their desperate effort to perform a hopeless task.

After the defeat at Kenesaw, Sherman changed his tactics, and by skilful maneuvering crossed the Chattahoochee

with a large force and advanced to meet Johnston, who had re-formed on Peach-tree creek. Here the Confederate General, Cheatham, attacked Newton's division, late in the afternoon of the 19th, but were hurled back onto Hooker and Johnston, who, after three hours' hard fighting, drove the Confederates back to their fortifications. Gen. Johnston was relieved of his command at this point of the struggle for the defense of Atlanta, and was superceded by Gen. Hood, an officer much inferior in skill to Johnston. The battle of July 22d at once followed. McPherson had the night before crossed the Augusta railroad two miles west of Decatur, after severe skirmishing, and Blair, on the left of the road, had pushed forward and seized a commanding eminence not two miles distant from Atlanta. The general advance of Sherman's line on the morning of the 22d had been contracted and strengthened. Dodge's (Sixteenth) corps, on Logan's right, had been in this way displaced, and was sent around to Blair's left, to strengthen the commanding position which had been gained the previous night. Sherman in the morning had supposed that Atlanta was abandoned; but before noon Thomas and Schofield found the enemy well intrenched in their front, covering the city, and away to the left about eleven o'clock was heard the fire of musketry and artillery. In a moment Hood's design was fathomed; but it was already too late to completely avert the danger which threatened McPherson.

Sherman was at the Howard House at this time, on Thomas' left. Here McPherson met him and Schofield and described the condition of affairs on his flank. Sherman had proposed to extend to the right, and was, therefore, not desirous to gain on the left. But the nature of the position gained by Blair led him to send Dodge to strengthen that

point. This point having been settled, McPherson started from the Howard House to return to his army, reports having already reached him of an attempt on his left. The sound of musketry, increasing in volume and accompanied by artillery, led Sherman to order an advance from the right and centre, and to hold as large a portion of Schofield's corps as possible in reserve to await developments. About half an hour after McPherson's departure, his adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, rode up with the sad and startling intelligence that his commander was either dead or a prisoner; that, riding from Sherman's headquarters to Dodge's column, and having dismissed his orderlies and staff officers on various errands, he had passed into a narrow path leading off from the extreme left of his line, and a few minutes later a sharp volley was heard in that direction, and McPherson's horse had come out riderless, with two wounds. "The suddenness of this calamity," says Gen. Sherman, "would have overwhelmed me with grief, but the living demanded my whole thought." Gen. Logan, commanding the Fifteenth Corps, was ordered to take command of the Army of the Tennessee. Sherman instructed Logan that he did not wish to gain ground on the left, but that the Augusta railroad must be held at all hazards. At a moment's notice Logan took upon himself the responsibility which McPherson had before borne, and not only defended the road against nearly the whole of Hood's army in six desperate assaults, but captured several pieces of artillery, comprising two full batteries, one of which was twenty-pounder Parrott guns.

Gen. Sherman in his report to Halleck, August 16th, wrote as follows:

"It occurs to me that, preliminary to a future report of

the history of this campaign, I should record certain facts of great personal interest to officers of this command.

“General McPherson was killed by the musketry fire at the beginning of the battle of July, 22. He had in person selected the ground for his troops, constituting the left wing of the army, I being in person with the centre, General Schofield. The moment the information reached me, I sent one of my staff to announce the fact to General John A. Logan, the senior officer present with the Army of the Tennessee, with general instructions to maintain the ground chosen by General McPherson if possible, but, if pressed too hard, to refuse his left flank but, at all events, to hold the railroad and main Decatur road; that I did not propose to move or gain ground by that flank, but rather by the right, and that I wanted the Army of the Tennessee to fight it out unaided. General Logan admirably conceived my orders and executed them; and, if he gave ground on the left of the Seventeenth Corps, it was properly done by my orders; but he held a certain hill by the right division of the Seventeenth Corps, the only ground on that line the possession of which by an enemy would have damaged us by giving a reverse fire on the remainder of the troops. General Logan fought that battle out as required, unaided save by a small brigade sent by my orders from General Schofield to the Decatur road, well to the rear, where it was reported the enemy's cavalry had got into the town of Decatur, and was operating directly on the rear of Logan; but that brigade was not disturbed, and was replaced that night by a part of the Fifteenth Corps next to General Schofield and General Schofield's brigade brought back so as to be kept together on its own line.

“General Logan managed the Army of the Tennessee well during his command, and it may be that an unfair inference might be drawn to his prejudice because he did not succeed to the permanent command. I am forced to choose a commander, not only for the army in the field, but of the Department of the Tennessee, covering a vast extent of country, with troops much dispersed. It was a delicate and

LOGAN'S VETERANS IN CAMP BEFORE ATLANTA



difficult task, and I gave preference to Major General O. O. Howard, then in command of the Fourth Army Corps in the Department of the Cumberland. Instead of giving my reasons I prefer that the wisdom of the choice be left to the test of time. The President kindly ratified my choice, and I am willing to assume the responsibility. I meant no disrespect to any officer; and hereby declare that General Logan submitted with the grace and dignity of a soldier, gentleman, and patriot, resumed the command of his corps proper (Fifteenth), and enjoys the love and respect of his army and of his commanders. It so happened that on the 28th of July I had again thrown the same army to the extreme right, the exposed flank, where the enemy repeated the same manœuvre, striking in mass; the extreme corps deployed in line, and refused as a flank the Fifteenth, Major General Logan, and he commanded in person, General Howard and myself being near; and that corps, as heretofore reported, repulsed the rebel army completely, and next day advanced and occupied the ground fought over and the road the enemy sought to cover. General Howard, who had that very day assumed his new command, unequivocally gave General Logan all the credit possible; and I also beg to add my unqualified admiration of the bravery and skill, and, more yet, good sense that influenced him to bear a natural disappointment, and do his whole duty like a man. If I could bestow upon him substantial reward, it would afford me unalloyed satisfaction; but I do believe, in the consciousness of acts done from noble impulses, and gracefully admitted by his superiors in authority, he will be contented. He already holds the highest commission known in the army, and it is hard to say how we can better manifest our applause."

One of Logans "boys" then carrying a musket, said to the writer: "Never shall I forget—never will one of us who survived that desperate fight forget, to our dying day—the grand spectacle presented by Logan as he rode up and down in front of the line, his black eyes flashing fire, his long

black hair streaming in the wind, bareheaded and his service-worn slouch hat swinging in his bridle hand and his sword flashing in the other, crying out in stentorian tones, "*Boys! McPherson and revenge!*" "Why," said he, "It made my blood run *both hot and cold and moved every man of us* to follow to the death the brave and magnificent hero-ideal of a soldier who made this resistless appeal to all that is brave and gallant in a soldier's heart; and this, too, when the very air was alive with whistling bullets and howling shell! And if he could only have been painted as he swept up and down the line on a steed as full of fire as his glorious rider, it would to-day be one of the finest battle pictures of the war."

CHAPTER XII.

The brilliant success of Gen. Logan discomfitted the Confederates and retrieved somewhat the reverse at Kenesaw, but Atlanta was still beyond long lines of fortification, behind which lay intrenched more than 35,000 of Hood's men. After the battle of the 22d, and the promotion of Gen. Howard to the command of the army of the Tennessee, and Gen. Logan to commanding the Fifteenth Army corps, a rest of three days was taken as the troops were nearly exhausted from constant fighting and exposure to wet and malarious influences. On the 27th, however, hostilities were resumed. Gen. Dodge, with the Sixteenth Corps, took position just west of Proctor's creek, and on the next morning (28th) Gen. Blair, with the Seventeenth Corps, extended the line south and west to Ezra church, on the Bell's Ferry or Lickskillet road; and Logan came in on Blair's right, his own right being refused along a well-wooded ridge south of the road. By 10 A. M. on the 28th, Howard's army was in position, and was rapidly fortifying itself with breastworks of rails and logs. From that time until noon there was heavy artillery firing from the Confederate position. Evidently Hood was about to repeat the tactics of the 22d. Lieutenant General S. D. Lee, who on the 25th had relieved General Cheatham of the command of Hood's former corps, was ordered to advance and attack Howard's right, and cover the Lickskillet road. The attack about noon fell upon the corps of General Logan, who fought alone the battle which ensued. Several assaults were made by Cheatham until 4 P. M., but were each repulsed with great loss to the enemy.

Logan's loss was less than 700. But when Cheatham abandoned the field he left 642 killed, which were counted and buried, besides many others buried but not counted. Sherman estimates the Confederate loss in this battle of the 28th as "not less than 5,000."

This battle, though fiercely fought according to Logan's custom and with his invariable success, did not open the way into Atlanta. Hood continued to receive re-enforcements until his lines reached from Decatur to East Point, a distance of fifteen miles, and were protected by both natural and artificial fortifications presenting an almost impregnable front.

Not satisfied with what had been accomplished in this raid, Sherman, on the night of August 25th, raised the siege of Atlanta. General A. S. Williams, with the Twentieth Corps, was ordered back to hold the intrenched position at the Chattahoochee bridge, and the remainder of the army, with 15 days' rations, was set in motion toward a position on the Macon road, at or near Jonesborough. On the first night of the movement, Stanley, with the Fourth Corps, drew out from the extreme left to a position west of Proctor's creek, and Williams moved back, as ordered, to the Chattahoochee, both movements being effected without loss. The next night the Army of the Tennessee moved south, well toward Sandtown, and the Army of the Cumberland to a position south of Etowa creek, Schofield remaining in position. Only one casualty occurred in this second stage of the army's progress. A third movement, on the 27th, brought Howard's command to the West Point road, above Fairburn, Thomas' army to Red Oak, Schofield at the same time closing in on the left. The 28th was spent in the destruction of the West Point road, a break being made of over 12 miles.

The railroad from Atlanta to Macon follows the ridge dividing the Flint from the Ocmulgee river, and between East Point and Jonesborough makes a wide bend to the east. It was against this ridge that the Federal army moved on the 29th—Logan toward Jonesborough on the right ; Thomas, in the center, toward Couch's, on the Fayetteville road, and Schofield on the left. As soon as Hood learned of this movement of Sherman, which, if successful, would compel the evacuation of Atlanta, he sent (on the 30th) Lee's and Hardee's corps to Jonesborough. To Hardee was given the command, Hood remaining with Stewart's corps in Atlanta, intending, in case of Hardee's success, to attack in flank. Hood does not seem to have been aware of the extent of the operation which Sherman was conducting, and supposed that Hardee, at Jonesborough, would encounter a force inferior to his own.

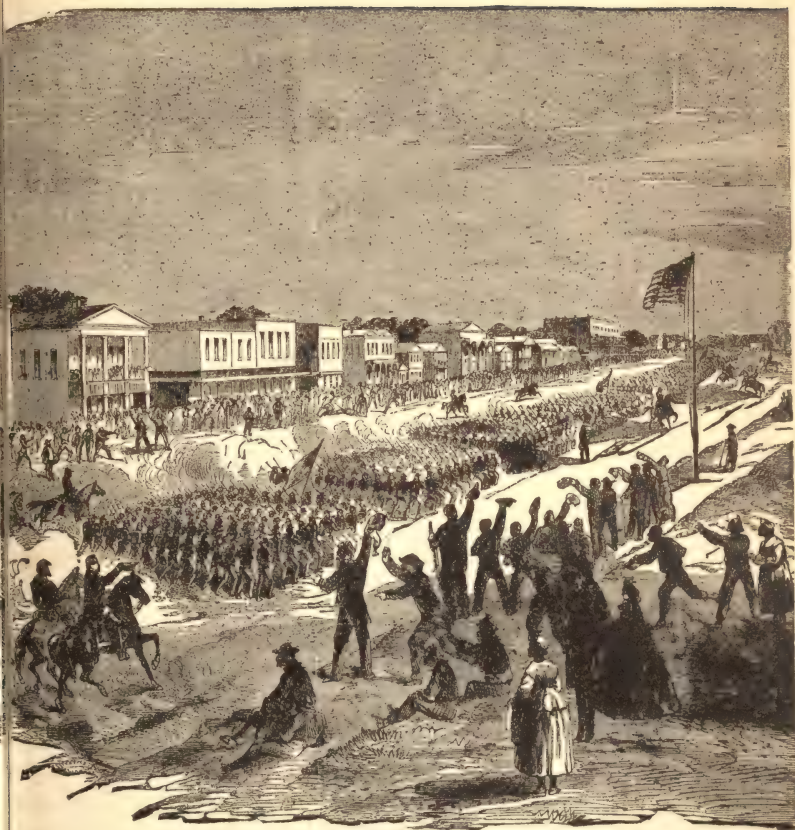
The battle of Jonesborough was fought on the 31st of August. Sherman was making dispositions to advance Schofield's and Davis' corps to Rough and Ready, between Atlanta and Jonesborough, when Hardee, coming out of the latter place, attacked Logan in his intrenched position. Hardee was well aware of the importance of this battle, and fought his troops with desperate obstinacy for two hours, when he withdrew from the field thoroughly beaten, having lost 1,400 killed and wounded.

While the battle had been in progress, Stanley's and Schofield's, and a portion of Davis' corps, had struck the railroad at several points, and were engaged in its destruction. A splendid opportunity was now offered for the destruction of Hardee's command. Sherman saw this, and ordered his three corps to turn against Jonesborough. Logan was to engage Hardee while Thomas and Schofield

moved down upon him from the north, destroying the railroad on their march. The arrangements for a final blow were now made, and September 1st was chosen as the time when it should be given. By noon of that day Davis' corps reached Howard's left and faced southward across the railroad. Blair was then with the Seventeenth corps, and Kilpatrick's cavalry thrown across the road south of Jonesborough. About 4 P. M. Logan assaulted the enemy's lines across the open, sweeping all before him, and capturing the greater part of Govan's brigade, including its commander. Repeated orders were sent hurrying up Schofield and Stanley, but, owing to the difficult nature of the country, these two corps did not arrive until night rendered further operations impossible and during the night the enemy retreated southward.

During the same night, at 2 A. M. on the morning of September 2, the sound of heavy explosions was heard from the direction of Atlanta, 20 miles distant, indicating the evacuation of that place by General Hood. Without regarding these tokens, Sherman pressed on the next morning in pursuit of Hardee, but found it impossible to intercept his retreat. On the 2d, Slocum entered Atlanta, followed by the whole army on the 7th. In this last movement of his army Gen. Sherman had captured 3,000 prisoners and 16 guns. His loss had been 1,500 men.

In the meantime Wheeler's raid on Sherman's communications had been productive of little damage. He had broken the railroad near Calhoun, but had been checked by Colonel Laibold at Dalton, until Steedman could arrive from Chattanooga, when he was headed off into East Tennessee. Finally, Rousseau, Steedman, and R. S. Granger, with their combined forces, drove him out of Tennessee.



LOGAN'S ARMY ENTERING ATLANTA.



“Atlanta is ours,” telegraphed Sherman to Washington on the 3d of September, “and fairly won.” The loss of this position by the Confederates was an irreparable misfortune. The wall which had hitherto protected the cotton States was now obliterated. The victory electrified the nation; it was felt to be the consummation of the triumphs won at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and its political effect in the loyal States cannot be too highly estimated. President Lincoln wrote a letter of thanks to Sherman and his army: “The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized the campaign must render it famous in the annals of war, and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the nation.” Lieutenant General Grant, before Petersburg, on the 4th, ordered a salute to be fired in honor of the victory “with shotted guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy.” On the 12th, General Sherman received from the President a commission making him a Major-General in the regular army.

I have given a somewhat lengthy description of the movements and battles in the Atlanta campaign, because they show Gen. Logan as a great central figure, upon whom devolved the hardest fighting and the gravest responsibility. Whenever Gen. Sherman desired any specially serious work done, charging a murderous battery, driving an harassing enemy from some stronghold, cutting through solid lines, or leading an onslaught, he always relied upon Logan to execute it, because he knew that there would be no shrinking, no hesitancy, but like a withering blast he would wheel and dash with destructive force upon the enemy in the full spirit of his orders. With all his fighting, for nearly two months in mountain fastnesses, narrow defiles, in front of batteries

and forts, over bridges, opposed many times to superior forces, yet Logan never lost a battle; he plucked victory out of the very cannons' mouths, and triumphed on blazing parapets where steel and fire forged thunderbolts of death.

Logan's charge was with the impetuosity of an Arnold, Wayne, or Marion, and yet his daring dashes were planned with the deliberation of a Blucher. He rushed into phalanxes of mighty opposing armies but not without first calculating—almost by intuition—the results of his attacks. Never once was he caught in a *cul de sac*, or cut off from the main body with which he was co-operating; never did he needlessly expose his brave men, though they would cheerfully have followed him into any direful situation, through flame and leaden storm, so fond was their attachment, so perfect their confidence in his masterly generalship. How much praise, therefore, shall the nation award him? How enduring shall be the fame and glory which he won?

CHAPTER XIII.

After the fall of Atlanta, and Sherman had laid an open route to Charleston and the sea, Gen. Logan came North to engage in the Presidential campaign between Lincoln and McClellan. It is quite unnecessary to say which side he espoused, for, though originally a Democrat when the war broke out, Gen. Logan regarded Democracy, as it then existed, only a term of reproach, the desecration of sacred principles; in fact the principles of his old political faith still lived, rehabilitated in the name of Republicanism.

In the Presidential contest of 1864 there was intense bitterness, and not a few fears on the part of Unionists lest the home influence, which continually declared the war a failure, should prevail, nor was this solicitude unnatural, for Southern sympathizers were in considerable numbers all over the North, and having remained at home, could make their influence felt at the polls. It was true that a great many soldiers were given furloughs that they might return home and vote at the November election, yet large armies of Union soldiers had to remain at their post of duty, which very greatly diminished the Republican vote. For this reason Gen. Logan was needed on the stump, his wonderful power as an orator and leader of public sentiment being thoroughly appreciated by President Lincoln and the loyal masses, and it was felt that no one could contribute more to the success of the party than he.

During Logan's campaign he made a speech in my town, Golconda, the effect of which I can never forget. He was

welcomed by a grand barbecue, as well as booming cannon, firing of pistols and waving of bunting. The magnetic name of Logan, however, aside from the barbecue, was enough to crowd the Creek Bottom, where the speaker's stand was erected, with such an immense concourse of people that it looked like a vast army of almost incalculable numbers. People came to town by team for more than a hundred miles, while the local packets, arriving from up and down the river, brought all the people they could carry. It was by far the greatest event that Golconda ever knew, either before or since. I, with thousands of others, was a rapt listener to Logan's speech on this occasion and, though my age at the time was less than fifteen years, the effect of his eloquent words stirred me as I have never been since, though it has been my privilege to hear the greatest orators of the age. Nor was the result more pronounced upon myself than it was upon others, for men, women and children seemed to be electrified, until they laughed at his sallies of wit, hurrahed with zest at his patriotic appeals and cried over the passionate pictures which he drew of the camp, field, battle and hospital. So intensely did his speech work upon the feelings of his audience that on the following day enlistment was renewed and another regiment of men was organized in Golconda, the recruits having been made chiefly from Pope county. Young as I was I now determined, too, to join the army, and being refused permission from my father, in company with other boys, enthused like myself, I ran off to Cairo, only to spend several days in a vain effort to become a soldier. This incident I give, not with a view of intruding my own experience upon the reader, but as an illustration of the inexpressible power which Gen. Logan possesses as a public speaker.

Success like that which attended Logan at Golconda followed him wherever he spoke, from Illinois to Cooper Institute, New York, and there is no doubting the assertion, which has been frequently made, that he influenced many thousands of Democrats to renounce their Southern sympathies and vote the Republican ticket.

As soon as the election was over, Gen. Logan returned to the field for active duty, joining Sherman at Savannah and participating in the campaign of the Carolinas, which was begun January 20, 1865 for the purpose of encountering Johnston's army on the Potomac. This march was full of peril and privations, in all of which Gen. Logan was with his men day and night, wading swamps and streams, and doing all that the men of his corps were called on to suffer. The command moved on, driving the enemy at every point, passing through Columbia, Goldsborough, and Fayetteville, until it reached Raleigh, near which the surrender of Johnston took place, and the campaign was closed.

After Johnston's surrender Logan marched with his veterans to Washington City and took part in the grand review of the victorious Union Armies, May 23, 1865. Washington rang with joyous welcome when the war-worn veterans, the heroes of a hundred battles, passed through its streets as they were returning to peaceful homes and loving wives and children. That city had felt the threatening of the iron gauntlet and had trembled at the doom of a fiery desolation. It was consequently in a fitting position to realize and applaud the daring deeds these men had done; what they had given for liberty and mankind. True, it wept with the nation, over the fearful winnowing of shot and shell, of bayonet and saber, but all the more loudly its cheers rang jubilantly out for those who remained, and the

“God bless you, dear boys,” fell not from ungrateful tongues or were prompted by unappreciated hearts.

The memorable grand review at Washington ! Ah, who shall forget the glory of that great day. It was a practical proclamation, announcing by life, drum, bands, streaming banners, and the glad steps of a returning, conquering legion, that all the battles had been fought and the nation preserved, through bloody sacrifice. With one accord the nation turned toward its armies and showered its blessings upon them. The successful generals, the brave soldiers—these were the heroes of that time. Four years before, regiment after regiment had marched through our cities with new banners, bright arms, and fresh, youthful faces, followed by hopes and prayers. Two soldiers—Ladd and Whitney—in the van of this southward march, had been slain in the streets of Baltimore, and their death so impressed the people that they received a monument, and passed into history sacredly, and by the association of time were linked with the Revolutionary heroes of Lexington. These were the first victims of the war. They led that glorious march of the dead, which, ere the end, numbered among its ranks over a quarter of a million of just such heroes as they, victims by disease or mortal wounds, of this protracted struggle for a nation’s life. Closing up the rear of this procession, thousands were still gathering from many hospitals. But, though so large a number had disappeared by discharge, death, or wounds, their places had been filled by others. Altogether a million and a half of men had entered the United States service, and at the close of the war a million still remained, of whom 650,000 were available for active duty. There were as many effective soldiers in the army

when the Confederate forces surrendered as when, in May, 1864, Grant and Sherman entered upon their final campaigns.

Now the record of blood was all written, and the scene of four years ago was reversed. The soldiers were returning to their homes, and as they passed through our streets were welcomed back with grateful shouts. Their banners now were tattered, and their arms and uniforms battle-soiled; many an absent one was mourned; and the fresh faces which went forth from us returned worn with the hardships of war. But they had served their country, and their step was proud and triumphant.

Over two hundred thousand soldiers made up the grand spectacle. They were assembled in one body for the first time. They were gathered together from every battle-field of the war—from the Ohio to New Orleans, from New Orleans to Olustee and from Olustee to the Potomac. Those who looked upon that spectacle were reminded of that first stage of the war when the national capital was threatened, and when the first recruits rushed to its rescue. They looked upon a living, moving demonstration of the fact that treason in a republic *could* be subdued, though every rebel leader, from Davis and Stephens down to the most petty demagogue of the South, had prophesied to the contrary.

But besides the grief felt for the thousands of hero dead, there was another sorrow to mar the joy of the grand review, for soldiers, citizens, and the nation at large missed the welcome and presence of Lincoln who had called the country's defenders into the field, to whom they had always looked as father and friend. But may we not suppose that Lincoln, though withdrawn from the earth, looked down upon the sublime spectacle? Did he not, as one of our poets has imagined, marshal another host, composed of those who,

like him, had been victims of this civil war, and who no participated in this grand review?

How beautifully expressed, how feelingly rhymed has this idea been by Henry Howard Brownell, in the following poem, the greatest and most exquisite of any called forth by the war. Let it be read again by the peaceful fireside; let those who have grown into youth and manhood since the rebellion read and study it, for there is patriotism in every line and glorious history in every verse. Let it be recited again in this campaign by the followers of the brave Logan to whom this nation owes a debt of gratitude which it can only pay by honoring him as his great services deserve:

“So, from the fields they win,
Our men are marching home—
A million are marching home!
To the cannon’s thundering din,
And banners on mast and dome
And the ships come sailing in
With all their ensigns dight,
As erst for a great sea-fight.

‘Let every color fly,
Every pennon flaunt in pride;
Wave, Starry Flag, on high!
Float in the sunny sky,
Stream o’er the stormy tide!
For every stripe of stainless hue,
And every star in the field of blue,
Ten thousand of the brave and true
Have laid them down and died.

“And in all our pride to-day
We think, with a tender pain,
Of those so far away,
They will not come home again.

"And our boys had fondly thought,
To-day, in marching by,
From the ground so dearly bought,
And the fields so bravely fought,
To have met their Father's eye.

"But they may not see him in place,
Nor their ranks be seen of him;
We look for the well-known face,
And the splendor is strangely dim.

"Perished?—who was it said
Our leader had passed away?
Dead? Our President dead?
He has not died for a day!

"We mourn for a little breath
Such as, late or soon, dust yields;
But the dark flower of death
Blooms in the fadeless fields.

"We looked on a cold still brow,
But Lincoln could yet survive;
He never was more alive,
Never nearer than now.

"For the pleasant season found him
Guarded by faithful hands,
In the fairest of Summer Lands;
With his own brave staff around him,
There our President stands.

"There they are all at his side,
The noble hearts and true,
That did all men might do—
Then slept, with their swords, and died.

"Of little the storm has reft us
But the brave and kindly clay—
('Tis but dust where Lander left us,
And but turf where Lyon lay.)

"There's Winthrop, true to the end,
And Ellsworth of long ago
(First fair young head laid low!)
There's Baker, the brave old friend,
And Douglas, the friendly foe.

“(Baker, that still stood up
When ’twas death on either hand;
’Tis a soldier’s part to stoop,
But the Senator must stand.)

“The heroes gather and form—
There’s Cameron, with his scars,
Sedgwick, of siege and storm,
And Mitchell, that joined his stars.

“Winthrop, of sword and pen,
Wadsworth, with silver hair,
Mansfield, ruler of men,
And brave McPherson are there.

“Birney, who led so long,
Abbott, born to command,
Elliott, the bold, and Strong,
Who fell on the hard-fought strand.

“Lytle, soldier and bard,
And the Ellets, sire and son;
Ransom, all grandly scarred,
And Redfield, no more on guard,
(But Allatoona is won!)

“Reno, of pure desert,
Kearney, with heart of flame,
And Russell, that hid his hurt
Till the final death-blot came.

“Terrill, dead where he fought,
Wallace, that would not yield,
And Sumner, who vainly sought
A grave on the foughten field,

“(But died ere the end he saw,
With years and battles outworn).
There’s Harker, of Kenesaw,
And Ulric Dahlgren, and Shaw,
That slept with his hope forlorn.

“Bayard, that knew not fear,
(True as the knight of yore),
And Putnam, and Paul Revere,
Worthy the names they bore.

“Allen, who died for others,
Bryan, of gentle fame,
And the brave New England brothers
That have left us Lowell's name.

“Home, at last, from the wars—
Steadman, the staunch and mild,
And Janeway, our hero-child,
Home, with his fifteen scars.

“There's Porter, ever in front,
True son of a sea-king sire,
And Christian Foote, and Dupont
(Dupont, who led his ships
Rounding the first eclipse
Of thunder and of fire).

“There's Ward, with his brave death-wounds,
And Cummings, of spotless name,
And Smith, who hurtled his rounds
When deck and hatch were aflame.

“Wainright, steadfast and true,
Rodgers, of brave sea-blood,
And Craven, with ship and crew
Sunk in the salt sea flood.

“And, a little later to part,
Our captain, noble and dear—
(Did they deem thee, then, austere?
Dayton! O, pure and kindly heart!
Thine is the seaman's tear).

“All such, and many another
(Ah, list how long to name!)
That stood like brother by brother,
And died on the field of fame.

“And around—(for there can cease
This earthly trouble)—they throng,
The friends that had passed in peace,
The foes that have seen their wrong.

“(But, a little from the rest,
With sad eyes looking down,
And brows of softened frown,
With stern arms on the chest,
Are two, standing abreast—
Stonewall and Old John Brown).

“But the stainless and the true,
These by their President stand,
To look on his last review,
Or march with the old command.

“And lo, from a thousand fields,
From all the old battle-haunts,
A greater army than Sherman wilds,
A grander review than Grant’s!

“Gathered home from the grave,
Risen from sun and rain—
Rescued from wind and wave
Out of the stormy main—
The legions of our brave
Are all in their lines again!

“Many a stout corps that went,
Full-ranked, from camp and tent,
And brought back a brigade;
Many a brave regiment,
That mustered only a squad.

“The lost battalions,
That, when the fight went wrong,
Stood and died at their guns—
The stormers steady and strong.

“With their best blood that bought
Scarp, and ravelin, and wall—
The companies that fought
Till a corporal’s guard was all.

“Many a valiant crew,
That passed in battle and wreck—
Ah, so faithful and true!
They died on the bloody deck,
They sank in the soundless blue.

- “All the loyal and bold
That lay on a soldier’s bier—
The stretchers borne to the rear,
The hammocks lowered to the hold.
- “The shattered wreck we hurried,
In death-fight, from deck and port—
The Blacks that Wagner buried—
That died in the Bloody Fort!
- “Comrades of camp and mess,
Left, as they lay, to die,
In the battle’s sorest stress,
When the storm of fight swept by;
They lay in the wilderness—
Ah! where did they not lie?
- “In the tangled swamp they lay,
They lay so still on the sward!—
They rolled in the sick-bay,
Moaning their lives away—
They flushed in the fevered ward.
- “They rotted in Libby, yonder,
They starved in the foul stockade—
Hearing afar, the thunder
Of the Union cannonade.
- “But the old wounds all are healed,
And the dungeoned limbs are free—
The Blue Frocks rise from the field,
The Blue Jackets out of the sea.
- “They’ve ’scaped from the torture-den,
They’ve broken the bloody sod,
They’re all come to life agen!—
The third of a million men
That died for thee and for God!
- “A tenderer green than May
The Eternal Season wears—
The blue of our summer’s day
Is dim and pallid to theirs—
The horror faded away,
And ’twas heaven all unawares.

- “Tents on the Infinite Shore!
Flags in the azuline sky,
Sails on the seas once more!
To-day, in the heaven on high,
All under arms once more!
- “The troops are all in their lines,
The guidons flutter and play;
But every bayonet shines,
For all must march to-day.
- “What lofty pennons flaunt?
What mighty echoes haunt,
As of great guns, o’er the main?
Hark to the sound again—
The Congress is all at aunt!
The Cumberland’s manned again!
- “All the ships and their men
Are in line of battle to-day—
All at quarters, as when
Their last roll thundered away—
All at their guns, as then,
For the fleet salutes to-day.
- “The armies have broken camp
On the vast and sunny plain,
The drums are rolling again;
With steady, measured tramp,
They’re marching all again.
- “With alignment firm and solemn,
Once again they form
In mighty square and column—
But never for charge and storm.
- “The old flag they died under
Floats above them on the shore,
And on the great ships yonder
The ensigns dip once more—
And once again the thunder
Of the thirty guns and four!

“In solid platoons of steel,
Under heaven’s triumphal arch,
The long lines break and wheel,
And the word is ‘Forward, march!’

“The colors ripple o’erhead,
The drums roll up to the sky,
And with martial time and tread
The regiments all pass by—
The ranks of our faithful Dead,
Meeting their President’s eye.

“With a soldier’s quiet pride
They smile o’er the perished pain,
For their anguish was not vain—
‘For thee, O Father, we died!
And we did not die in vain.’

“March on, your last brave mile!
Salute him, Star and Lance!
Form round him, rank and file,
And look on the kind, rough face;
But the quaint and homely smile
Has a glory and a grace
It never had known erewhile—
Never, in time and space.

“Close round him, hearts of pride!
Press near him, side by side—
Our Father is not alone!
For the Holy Right ye died,
And Christ, the Crucified,
Waits to welcome his own.”

Who shall measure the joy of the grand review? It was a great day for Washington—greater even than when the old Sixth Corps sent the enemy whirling backward; greater still for the Boys in Blue that had marched from Atlanta to the sea, “a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night;” a great day for every soldier; a great day especially for Gen. John A. Logan, as it made good

the brave words uttered by him in his address to his command at Memphis, February 12, 1863, words that will go ringing down through the camps of time unchallenged and re-echoed by every honest, manly and loyal heart. In alluding to the "falsifying of public sentiment at home," Gen. Logan said: "Intriguing political tricksters, demagogues and time-servers, whose corrupt deeds are but a faint reflex of their corrupt hearts, seem determined to drive our people to anarchy and destruction. The day is not far distant when traitors and cowards, North and South, will cower before the indignation of an outraged people. March bravely onward!"

They did march onward, and Gen. Logan was with them. They marched onward and to victory, with their eyes fixed upon the star-lit flag, keeping step to the music of the Union, carrying their lives in their hands, and by the great hail hereafter will be known as heroes worthy of the name.

When active duty in the field was over, and the "war for the preservation of the Union had become an established fact," the event for which he had so ardently longed, he at once tendered his resignation, stating that he was unwilling to draw pay when not in active service. On the day of the grand review in Washington, as a mark of the esteem in which he was held by Generals Grant and Sherman, and as a recognition of the promotion to which he would have been entitled had the war continued, Gen. Logan was appointed to the command of the Army of the Tennessee.

After the close of the war, Gen. Logan was offered the position of Minister to Mexico, but declined. In 1866 he was elected to Congress from the State at large in Illinois by a majority of 55,987, and in the Fortieth Congress was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. In

the next, the Forty-first Congress, Logan began to make his mark as a statesman. He was then Chairman of the Military Committee, and was charged with the duty of investigating the sale of cadetships to the naval and military academies. A number of Southern carpet-bag Republicans, it was thought, had swelled their exchequer in this wise. Pursuing the investigation with assiduity, Logan caught a South Carolina carpet-bagger named Whittemore, and exposed him in a speech in the House. To save expulsion, Whittemore resigned and went back to his profession of lay preacher.

In January, 1868, the Grand Army of the Republic, as a mark of their appreciation for his brilliancy as a general, elected Gen. Logan commander-in-chief of their praiseworthy order, and in May, 1869, and also the succeeding year he was honored by re-elections to the same high position.

In 1870 the Legislature of Illinois elected Gen. Logan to the United States Senate, in which position he distinguished himself as in all other places to which he had been called by the people. His reputation in the House gave him most respectful attention in the Senate, where he had sat but a few months before he was recognized as a Republican leader in the Senatorial body. At the expiration of his term, in 1876, he was a candidate for re-election, but there was an element in Illinois so hostile to him that they succeeded in establishing a coalition between the Democrats and Grangers, calling themselves Independents, which defeated him, electing Judge David Davis in his stead.

Logan's defeat in 1876 was only temporary, nor was it wholly without advantage to him, for the people felt that an error had been committed, that a brave, loyal and able Representative, deserving of all the honors they could bestow, had been neglected, and to acknowledge their injustice

to so noble a man and soldier, in 1879 they re-elected him to the Senate as successor to Hon. Richard J. Oglesby.

The real opposition to Logan, by which he was defeated in 1876, did not come from his own party, but by reason of a temporary triumph of the Democrats in the State, obtained by an amalgamation with Independents. But Logan's defeat, more than anything else, destroyed again the Democratic prestige in Illinois, and caused the return of a Republican Legislature at the next election. This sudden revulsion of political sentiment in the State, arising from the cause named, made Logan more popular even than he was before, and was, in a great measure, the reason of his nomination to the Vice-Presidency—or more properly speaking, the reason Illinois urged him so strongly for the Presidency, for the Republicans considered it their imperative duty to rebuke the spirit which sought to relegate to private life the most distinguished and worthy son of the commonwealth; one whose name sheds a lustre of glory on the great State of Illinois.

CHAPTER XIV.

I have followed Gen. Logan's career as a soldier with necessary brevity, not only on account of limited space but because it is an open book to all Americans; his star shines with such brilliancy in the firmament of military genius that every loyal sovereign of the nation knows its beauty, while innumerable pens have embalmed his patriotic devotion in national history for the present and unborn generations to read and admire. Having described his entrance into legislative councils, let us consider Gen. Logan now in his career of statesmanship, beginning with his election to the Illinois Legislature in 1852.

The school in which John A. Logan was trained for the bloodless battles of the forum that have made his name famous as a debater; for the striking of heavy blows; for impassioned, and at times ornate eloquence, clear logic and exhaustive argument, was no ordinary one, but that of remarkable men.

The capital of Illinois was famous even at that early day for the strength and learning of its bar; its far-sighted politicians; its wit, keen as a Toledo blade. Men since known in every land and spoken of with intense admiration and deepest reverence by every tongue, had their homes there, and in their future wanderings never had to bow the knee to intellectual masters; men who lived in the times that tested manhood to the uttermost;

"Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain."

Lincoln, the ever-to-be remembered and mourned; the man

of iron will, but woman's tender heart; the man possessed of the rare gift and knowledge of common sense, though "not a soldier of the classics;" the sound lawyer; the honest advocate; the impressive speaker; the breaker of bonds and the apostle of Emancipation was there.

Douglas, powerful, self-reliant, massive in eloquence, in fact, argument and illustration; dauntless in his championship of what he considered right; unswerving in his love for the law and the Union, though he saw ahead the political shipwreck of his most cherished ambition; the cool, clear-headed defender of the Constitution and its most able interpreter since Webster was there.

Stephen T. Logan, the living lexicon of law and logic; who fully comprehended that "reason is the life of the law; nay, the common law itself is nothing else but reason;" the man bitter in sarcasm, with lips to thunder anathema or melt to tears of pity, regret and remorse; the lawyer to whom the bench could give no new honors, was there grand in the firmness and purity of his character and with integrity never challenged.

And others well worthy of the bright companionship were there, but we cannot call the roll. It would be as summoning the dead and making the halls of Springfield ring with eloquence as it is never likely to do again. It was a gathering of giants; of men of learning, nerve, principle and stern devotion to their country and its laws, as later years brightly but sadly proved. It was a school where none but the fittest could survive, and genius, study and eloquence were strained to the utmost to "keep the pace;" where the encounters were fierce and he who kept his shield unbeaten down, who fell not in the struggle, must possess all the best and most brilliant elements of manhood, and would

be forearmed for anything that might come in the forensic arena of the future.

It was surrounded by such men and with their precepts and examples before him, that John A. Logan grew into the full stature of manhood, mentally and physically, and learned "that chastity of honor which felt a stain like a blow," and early in life (as previously remarked) he was called to serve client and country in court and legislative hall. Early, too, he revealed the metal of which he was made and the temper of the blade he used for attack and defense as occasion required, and which as his enemies have learned, bears a keen and a cutting edge.

Even when in the Illinois Legislature he was not afraid to utter bold words and assume responsibility when duty demanded. True to his nature, he shrank not from the consequences and stamped his daring individuality upon all he uttered,—even as he has ever since done. No matter what other charges ignorance, malice and jealousy may have trumped up against him, that of cowardice or avoiding the issue has never been one of them.

We cannot follow his career year by year and from place to place as he steadily ascended the ladder of public honor. But everywhere and under every circumstance he has been faithful to the trusts reposed in him and growing deeper and more firmly into the popular heart, until he is outranked by none, and can calmly smile at those who would whistle him down the winds into earthly oblivion.

General Logan was the second native Illinoisan elected to Congress from that State. From the time of his taking his place there his name and deeds have become national and his speeches have been spread broadcast by the press and the *Congressional Record*. His history, consequently, has been

that of the country, and he fills no minor part in the galaxy of the great men of America as known in foreign lands.

To gather his speeches and, from them massed, form any judgment of his capability, truth, justice, inflexibility of purpose, correctness of judgment and claim to far more than ordinary elocutionary gifts, is beyond our power or purpose. He accomplished the end in view when delivered, where the inspiration of the hour and their echoes (for the most part) have become lost, save as they are now and then awakened in the chambers of some retentive memory.

By the "inspiration of the hour," however, we would not be understood as conveying the idea that General Logan rushes *in medias res* upon any subject. That he can speak impromptu and well has been often proved. He has never failed "upon the spur of the moment" to say fitting and appreciative words. But in affairs of state, especially, his was the most careful and exhaustive preparation—the mastery of all the points pro and con. No truly great speaker ever trusted to the time, place and circumstances. The most brilliant rhetorical efforts were the result of labor and thought. Even the next to matchless utterances of Webster and the smoothly rounded sentences of other world famous men, the electric telegraphs strung from soul to soul "smell of the lamp." Thus the "inspiration of the hour" in the sense we use it with regard to Logan, is the arrangement and polishing of the blocks already quarried; the adornment of the already gathered crude facts and widely sundered testimony, and with the case stated, "He found it a skeleton and clothed it with life, color and complexion; he embraced the cold statue, and by his touch it grew into youth, health and beauty."

Listening to General Logan, one is impressed by his earn-

estness as much as the rapid enunciation of peculiarly appropriate and powerful periods, and however much you may disagree with him, you cannot but concede his honesty of conviction as to the right of the matter he advocates and his determination to sustain it, no matter who may fall by the wayside.

Forced by the imperative need of condensation, we resist the temptation of making liberal extracts from the public utterances of General Logan, and must be content with a brief notice of what may be considered his masterpiece of argument, facts, figures and never-answered statements. We refer to the speeches made in the United States Senate January 2 and 3, 1883, and his later one on March 14, 1884, on the bill for the relief of Fitz John Porter.

No matter brought before the XLVIIth and XLVIIIth Congresses attracted more attention than this bill; had in it more the suggestions of discord and aroused more of passionate feeling. It was a question that had been discussed by all prominent men, politicians especially; every soldier, from the commander-in-chief to the rank-and-file, had made it a study; every newspaper in the land had advocated one side or the other; the great majority were committed by strongly expressed opinions, and politics becoming involved, the action of one party was as a unit in favor of the passage of the bill, and the other, with but a few remarkable and scarcely-to-be accounted for exceptions, opposed to it.

And further than any merely local or personal bearing, it contained the decision of a court-martial of the right of Congress to decide whether or not the said court-martial had exceeded its powers and jurisdiction, and if so, what

authority Congress could confer upon the President of the United States to restore tarnished honor and pay for pecuniary losses sustained.

And still further, it re-opened, as it were, the history of the last war and touched again with bitterness the causes and effects that had been laid to rest; re-venomed many an unpoisoned sting; tore asunder scarcely healed wounds, and forced men into partisanship from which they would gladly have withdrawn and totally ignored. It dipped again in blood the laurels that had been washed clean by the tears of peace; it scattered the wreaths that loving hands had placed upon the graves of the brave—the re-united brave, for the hearts of the living had never forgotten that God had planted the Palmetto and the Pine side by side; had decreed that their branches should ever-more intertwine; that

“Together they shall be,
An everlasting charter-bond forever for the free;
Of liberty the signet-seal, the one eternal sign,
Be those *united emblems*—the Palmetto and the Pine.”

It was when the pulse of the country was thus beating at fever heat that General Logan defended the principle; opposed the establishment of a dangerous and wrong precedent; upheld the decree of justice, even if stern; fortified the high position of every honest and brave soldier, and indirectly, but gloriously, and with reverend homage upheld the name and deeds of Abraham Lincoln, the man who had “ascended the ladder of fame so high, from the round at the top he stepped to the sky,” and won a crown immortal by a martyr’s baptism. Also the sacred memory of the lamented Garfield, who was a member of the court-martial.

Arrayed against General Logan were talent, learning, eloquence, rank and wealth. He swept them aside with a breath; silenced into the lowest of murmurs malicious insinuation and false testimony; overturned the most carefully constructed theories; exposed the fallacy of threadbare arguments; winnowed the false from the true, and won greater renown than ever before.

He knew better than any man, for he had the best opportunity for so doing, the magnitude of the task he had undertaken; the target he made of himself for those who stab in the back, and who shoot venomous arrows from behind ambushes. Yet he shrank not and was more than equal to the emergency. More, because a far less powerful and testimony-sustained argument at every point would have made him triumphant and caused him to be fully sustained (as he was) by the verdict of all unbaised, thinking people.

The corner stones upon which the entire elaborate speech was constructed, were but two, and contained the simple propositions: "First, what is the law; second, what is the evidence applicable to that law for this tribunal to examine." These were the words of General Logan; his brief, but comprehensive statement of the case, and upon them was builded the orthographic structure that for five days held Congress as is rarely done in the first instance and hours in the second. The closing of this remarkable speech is so eloquent and true that we cannot refrain from reproducing it here:

"If this act of wrong, as I deem it, shall be perpetrated by the Congress of the United States, it will be declaring that those who failed in the hour of trial are those who shall be honored in the hour of triumph; it will be declaring to the

world that the record of those in the army who failed at the important time is as good as those who sustained the government ; that the honor and glory of the whole army of the United States shall not be maintained alone by the honors it won, but shall be maintained by the honors lost by its unworthy members. When we returned to our homes and our peaceful pursuits, when the armies of a million of men melted away into the paths of peace, we then expected, and ought to expect now, that nothing would be done by Congress at least that would mar that thought that should be in every man's mind, that equality and justice should be done to all according to the laws and constitution of our land, that justice should be done the living and that justice also should be meted out to the reputation of the dead.

“So then, for the honor of this nation, let not its representatives mar the record that loyalty made in behalf of this government and for the benefit of this people.

“I have deemed it to be my duty as a member of this body to oppose at all times a proposition of this character, because I believe it to be wrong in theory and certainly wrong in practice. I believe it will demoralize the army and have a demoralizing effect upon the country.

“I say in all kindness to the other side of this Chamber (it will perhaps have no effect), your course, assisted by a few of our side in this case, will prevent the people of this country, as long as you shall proceed in this way, from having confidence that you intend to administer the affairs of the government fairly. The opening of the doors for Fitz John Porter does not mean Fitz John Porter. It means breaking down the barrier, the wall between the good and the bad and those who failed in time of trial and those who did their duty. It means opening the door on the retired-list to Porter and to other men who failed us in our trials who shall follow in his wake. It means more. I do not care what a few gentlemen who were in the Union army may say, I do not care what a few gentlemen who were not in the Union army may say ; but the great body of the American people do not believe in breaking down the barriers between

the men who failed in time of need and the men who stood at their posts.

“When I say that I am speaking of our loyal people, I mean that the people do not believe in your coming here to regulate courts-martial for us during the war. They do not believe it just; they do not believe it is right. I am speaking in truth to you, and the people will emphasize it to you hereafter. Let your Confederacy regulate its own courts-martial while it existed in opposition to this Union, but do not come here from under that flag with numbers sufficient to put disgraced men back in the army, to cast slurs upon our men who did their duty, to trample in the dust the authority that suppressed your Confederacy. Let not your feelings go that far. If they do, I tell you that more years than you think will pass over your heads before you will have the confidence of the American people.

“There are some friends on this side of the Chamber who join with the other side. They are entitled to their views. I say to them, you will open the doors to danger in this country when you do this act. It is not an act of kindness to this man; it is an act of injustice to the army; it is an act of injustice to the loyal people of this country; it is an act of injustice to the memory of Lincoln and those who were associated with him at the time; it is trampling under foot the law and the facts. You who were their friends in the hour of trial, you who stood by them, should not falter now. You are to-day doing that which you would not have done ten years ago. But to-day the consciences of some people are getting so easy that we must do everything that is asked for men who failed us in the hour of our greatest danger, for men who are entitled to nothing except what they received. We are asked in charity, which is no charity, to violate the law, to violate the proper rules of civil conduct, to violate the judgment of a court, to violate the order of a President, made according to law and in justice, as shown at that time and now. I hope at least that men who have stood by the country in the hour of trial will not weaken in the

hour of triumph in the interests of those whose triumph would have proved disastrous to the country.

“The conscientious feeling that I have performed my duty according to my honest convictions to my country, to the honor of our now faithful little army, to my comrades in arms during the war, to the living and the dead that took part in the judgment of the court, to the loyal people that loved this country and helped to save it, shall be in my own breast through life my reward for my action in this case.”

Dry detail and statistics were supplemented and interwoven with flashes that controlled attention and compelled admiration. Beyond all question, this was *the* speech of the sessions: not an *ex parte* one, for the records of both the Northern and Southern army had been made to yield up everything bearing upon the question at issue. It was exhaustive. Not only were eye-witnesses, soldiers and officers (theoretically) placed upon the stand, but geography, topography, engineering, were summoned, and the secret whispers of the lightning became audible.

Upon the merits of the case it is not our province to express an opinion. From the Congress of the nation General Logan appealed to the Congress of the world, and the verdict was pronounced and favorable. With the speeches, as speeches, we have a right to deal. When given to the public, such things become their property and nothing of private or personal right is outraged by free discussion and critical analysis. The eyes of time are sharp and look through powerful microscopic lenses, and are as quick to discover faults as enemies are to magnify a grain of sand into a mountain.

That Logan's speeches were perfection in all the elements of diction, eloquence of expression and the inevitably best words at all times, cannot be claimed—could not for any extempore one. Some one has said that “no man dare to be

reported as the words fall from his lips," and the saying is a true one. In the heat of debate men are carried beyond the mere "padding" of words by the thought to be enforced. They have in view more the end to be obtained than the flowers growing along the path leading to it, and in the "torrent, tempest and the whirlwind of passion" it is very hard to "beget a temperance that may give it smoothness."

Strength and truth, we fancy, were more the purpose of General Logan than any oratorical display, and that he succeeded most admirably in these particulars is beyond dispute. The great majority of the press have so declared; have praised in no measured or feeble terms, and their decision is final as to the future, for "after your death you were better to have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you live."

Looking at these speeches after the lapse of time, and when the waves of passion are at rest, there can be but one view taken of them, save when some all-controlling interest sways judgment and embitters and warps reason. Setting these aside, the careful reader will find them bristling with points sharp as a bayonet; fair in statement and deduction; free from all vulgar personality; free from it entirely, except where the necessity of the case imperatively forces such mention; free from all low prejudice; free from intolerant partisanship; free from the slightest bias of sectionalism; non-political; free from any *ad captandum* or egotistical *ipse dixit* style; a bald, even if bold, statement of fact and circumstance; the collated testimony of others, rather than the opinions of self; speeches in defence of the army of the past and sustaining the high code in the future; plain, logical, convincing; covering all possible points;

speeches upon which General Logan, or any man, might safely rest his reputation, his name and his fame.

Quotation from them would illustrate and prove even one of these assertions; would fully sustain all we have said of them. Their wide reading has obviated the necessity of this, and it is safe to leave them to the judgment of time, secure of the decision that will follow. Yes, we might look confidently for a decision establishing him in the hearts of his countrymen, where he belongs, but for the fierce beating of calumny, hurled by political enemies and gathering force by accretion of falsehoods. The bitter party spirit of modern times conceives scandal, which it supports by every sin that can lend it color. Therefore, do repeat the facts in Logan's life that all falsehood may be again and again disproved. Let him stand in the glare of truth, and his beautiful armor will be seen glistening and reflecting back rays of purity and honor.

CHAPTER XV.

It is but natural that General John A. Logan should have enemies; no truly great men are without them; they are like the barnacles on a ship, or weeds among useful products of the field; the most careful tillage cannot destroy them; they thrive in all seasons, regardless of sunshine or rain. Men are like plants in many particulars; some grow rank with fine stalks, only to mature into cheat; others are like thistles to plague the world, while yet others apply themselves like suckers to stately, promising growths; few there are who thrive through all the retarding influences of thistles, suckers and cheat. I will not give a parable, but the enemies of General Logan may not inaptly be regarded as the tares which the fertile and glorious example of his life have attracted.

I have already reported the facts concerning General Logan's enlistment as a soldier for the Union, and disproved the malicious reports of his original sympathy with the South, but as these same unfounded charges will still be reported, particularly through the campaign, I want to emphasize the proof of his consistent loyalty by reporting the following remarks made by Gen. Logan in the Senate, on March 23, 1881:

“Mr. President, I have taken but slight notice of slanders touching my action in any case. But, sir, since the year 1866 my enemies have so persistently pursued me with falsehoods touching my action in 1861, that I now feel it to be my duty to place on record the facts, that those

who come after me may know the truth as it was and is
 * * * * During the early part of the year 1861, when secession was rampant in this city and in the halls of Congress, and while I had an opportunity of showing where my sympathies were, whether with the Union or not, Mr. M. Adrain, of New Jersey, proposed the following resolution in the House of Representatives: ‘Resolved, that we fully approve of the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter, and of the determination of the President to maintain that fearless officer in his present position; and that we will support the President in all the constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.’ ”

Upon this resolution Mr. Logan voted “aye,” and added that it “received his unqualified support.” This he re-asserted in the speech of which we have made mention, and no one was bold enough to dispute the assertion as not being true. And he did more. He proved by the most unanswerable testimony that every word breathed against his patriotic standing was false to the very core. He brought forward the statements of his Democratic opponents to give emphasis to his loyalty of thought, deed and purpose; produced the unsolicited letters of Senators J. Q. C. Lamar and J. L. Pugh; demolished the cobweb castles of his traducers by hundreds of letters and affidavits, and in the end did not leave the base lie a foot to stand upon.

His self-vindication was perfect and triumphant; his refutation of the villainous and viperous slanders most complete and absolute. We cannot give the speech in extenso (as we could wish) but it is printed in the *Congressional Record*; is a matter of history; anyone can read it who wills, and we cannot but have a very poor opinion of the

honesty of any man (who, after reading it with unbiased mind,) attempts to pick flaw or find blot in the purity of purpose and lofty patriotism of Gen. Logan.

We are aware that we have wasted time and words in recounting this matter; that it was unnecessary so to do. This serpent of infamous falsehood long since stung itself to death, and the venomed shafts could not find a single weak spot in the armor of the man. But there may still be some who, from selfish motives or the jealousy that is "cruel as the grave," desire to keep the foul story afloat. In such a case, what we have written is due to the man; to those with whom he associated; to his country, and to those dearer to him than all save an unsullied escutcheon in private life, in camp, upon the battle-field, and as one of the representatives of a great nation.

To such men, a thousand-fold more than ordinary citizens, "private credit is wealth, public honor is security; the feather that adorns the royal bird supports its flight; strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." Indeed, to one whose aim of life has been to stand before the world as the hero of Marignano, Aquadello and Battle of the Spurs "*sans puer et sans reproche*," it is his all.

Yet there is another point so clearly demonstrated by his personal acts and aspirations that we cannot pass it unnoticed. It is the perfectly clean life-record of the man. During all his years the honesty of General Logan has never been questioned or slurred. Politically or privately there has never been found stain or blemish, and none have ever been hinted at. No public trust has ever been betrayed by him. He has stood sternly and completely aloof from all of public or private jobbery. His statesmanship and his personal character have alike been pure, and his every official

act done for the benefit of his constituents and his country. His labors have been excessive, heavy, engrossing. He has given the best of his years and talents to the end for which he was elected, not the accumulation of wealth by questionable methods, and stands to-day with undefiled hands and untarnished honor, a living and a striking proof of the power to resist sordid temptation, rise superior to selfish ends and to live for the greatest good and the highest glory of his native land and mankind.

That this statement is true in its fullest and most comprehensive sense, those who have the entree of his home and share his confidence will attest. Very few have such privileges and, therefore, very few are in a situation to rightly judge how arduous has been his toil and how unrewarded, except that reward which follows the doing of good deeds and the keeping of the golden rule.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, an influential member of the Judiciary and Appropriation Committees, he has more than enough to occupy his time, even were the hours quadrupled. But this is very far from being all. Early and late his house is crowded with people seeking advice and aid in every possible shape—seeking position and money. And to those in the ordinary walks of business his daily mail would not only be a wonder, but a terror, when the labor of answering became apparent. The word “immense” (comparatively used) is the most fitting to convey an idea of its magnitude. And the replying is not simply a matter of aye or nay. It frequently involves intricate points of law and practice before the various departments; the minute searching of records; involves thought, study, investigation, abstruse calculations, personal attention and monied expense—never repaid. But with

General Logan nothing suffers neglect. The poor man is as welcome as he who comes "clad in purple and fine linen," and his cause held even more sacred.

He attends to more wants of individuals than any man ever in Congress. This is empathically and especially true with regard to soldiers. Their cause is his cause; their wants his wants; their just recognition and reward his constant battle. From every section of the country, from Maine to Mississippi; from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific; from every State in a Union undivided, come letters to him from those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray, *and none are ever neglected*. He is too magnanimous to permit anything of the past to influence his mind or his charity; his love of his race is too catholic and broad to be swayed by the recollections of former years; he was and is too much a good soldier not to respect bravery in others; too much of a man to harbor anything of revenge or become narrow-minded by prejudice or petty malice. If sometimes his soul is permitted to speak through his lips when justice and duty require, back of it beats a warm and responsive heart, and no one, friend or foe, ever appealed to him in vain, for in his composition the elements that mark the North and the South are strongly blended—the inflexible honesty and icy firmness of the one, with the chivalry, the fiery warmth and the open-handed generosity of the other.

Henry V. Boynton, of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, prominent as Gen. Sherman's biographer, and as a writer of war incidents, contributed the following to his paper on the evening of Gen. Logan's nomination to the Vice-Presidency, not only as a tribute to the heroism of Logan, but his magnanimity, and chivalrous regard for the pride and honor of others, as well. When the Republican ticket is formed left

in front, General Logan comes marching along at the head of it. This is nothing new for him. He has been about the front in all the party's hottest times, both when armies were fighting to establish it, and when, as its days of peace began, he gave all his energies to help preserve what had been won in war.

“The roll of honor of the Union armies does not contain a name worthy to stand above his, as the best type of volunteer officer through all the grades up to the commander of an army in battle. Before he was of age he was a soldier in Mexico. He was a Democratic Congressman from the most benighted political section of Illinois when Sumter was fired on. He was a good enough Republican to be a fighting officer for the Union, and a very stubborn one, too, at the battle of Bull Run. A good many who wink now as they ask with a knowing air, whether Logan did not once contemplate joining the Southern Confederacy, had not themselves, at that date, adopted the doctrine of coercion. Suppose Logan did at first consider such a step? there were scores of men, whose prominence in the party is not now questioned, who were proposing peace conferences or serving on peace committees after Logan had enlisted as a Union soldier. He never turned his face toward the Confederacy—except in battle. But if he had, in the early, unsettled days, Republicans, in view of his magnificent service from the hour the first rebel gun was fired, can give him full and effective defense against all questioners.

“He enlisted as a private in 1861, with the prestige of success as an officer in Mexico before he became of age. At Belmont he fought as stubbornly in the face of disaster as he had at Bull Run. He was wounded on the Cumberland, at Donelson, but in spite of it reached the field at Shiloh before

the fight ended. As early as the Vicksburg campaign he was a Division Commander, and at its close he had risen from the ranks to the command of the Fifteenth Corps. His merit before Vicksburg was shown by the selection of his division for the post of honor in marching to occupy the city.

“General Logan became known to the Army of the Cumberland when the Armies of the Tennessee, the Ohio and the Cumberland united at Ringgold and faced southward for the Atlanta campaign. As these armies advanced along a battle line where for four months the firing never wholly ceased by day or by night, everybody came to know Logan. Brave, vigilant and aggressive, he won universal applause. Prudent for his men and reckless in exposing his own person, he excited general admiration. When the lines were close his own headquarters were often scarcely out of sight of the pickets, and he generally had a hand in whatever deadly work might spring up along his front.

“There was another and later event of great importance that raised him high in the estimation of the friends of General Thomas. He had been cut off from joining his command for the march to the sea, and subsequently reported to City Point for orders. He reached there just after the first order for General Thomas’ removal before Nashville had been telegraphed to Washington, and its promulgation delayed. For the second time General Grant had become exceedingly impatient, and decided to remove Thomas. Upon the appearance of Logan, Grant ordered him to proceed at once to Nashville and await orders. His instructions contemplated his relieving General Thomas, if on his arrival no attack had been made upon Hood. Here was a most brilliant position offered—that of Commander of the Army of

the Cumberland, just as it had been reorganized and put in order for battle, and stood in its trenches ready for the word to advance. Had ambition alone actuated him, here was the opportunity of a lifetime of active service. But instead of obeying the spirit of his instructions, he proceeded with such deliberation as to prove beyond room for cavil, that self-seeking was not the motive which controlled Logan in the war.

“He removed to his new post without undue haste. He seemed to appreciate the situation far better than Grant himself. His leisurely journey to Nashville gave time for the battle to open under Thomas. And when it opened Logan telegraphed announcing the beginning of Thomas’ success, and asking to be ordered to his old command.

“There is nothing in Logan’s military history more creditable than this. Many thousand veterans of the Army of the Cumberland will have this chapter in particular remembrance when they vote this fall, and none who read about it and admire fair play will be apt to forget it.”

To dwell further upon the character of one so well and widely known; one whose deeds and fame are cosmopolitan and whose acts are historical, would be useless. Wherever the English language is spoken—still further, wherever deeds of daring and bravery and talent and honesty are prized, he is respected and beloved. His past is assured beyond peradventure. His future, holding as it does, without doubt, still greater public honors for him, can scarcely add to those already won, and among the names ever to be remembered by a grateful country and an admiring and appreciative people, very few will be carved more deeply upon the century than that of General John A. Logan.

CHAPTER XVI.

The soldier element is still a strong one in the political complexion of our government, though twenty years have nearly passed since peace took up the wand of progress where destructive war had thrown it down; yet thousands of old veterans are still above the sod with all their memories undimmed, and their pride of country intensified by the part they took in securing a perpetuity of the institutions conceived in the Confederation of 1777, established in 1783, formulated in the Constitution of 1787, and re-affirmed in the war issue of 1865. Through these stages of battle and legislation the boon of freedom has been nurtured and now blossoms so beautifully, fragrant with the incense of liberty and Union. The soldier population, who followed the flag of freedom and justice through the last ordeal, are jealous of the rights their valor won; they cannot but remember the old issues and the parties which then divided popular sentiment; the camp-fires have gone out, but the circumstances which lighted them are a part of history as well as remembrance; the name of Logan, therefore, has lost none of the charm which it possessed at Belmont, Donelson, Vicksburg, Atlanta, Corinth, Champion Hill, Kenesaw, Peach-tree Creek, and a hundred other places, rendered immortal by terrific battles in which John A. Logan won imperishable renown. The old soldiers not only remember him leading a desperate charge, with gleaming sword, streaming hair and flashing eye, shouting his electric command, "Come on, boys;" they do not only recall their brave commander

wounded almost to the death, yet heroically keeping his saddle and carrying an assault; not only as a warrior brave, manly, generous, but also as the statesman, a hero in debate as well as in battle, a champion of just laws, zealous, ardent for the right in the council halls of his country, pure in character and a just measurer of men and measures. As he won promotion for gallant conduct on the field, the old soldiers declare he deserves promotion for his ability in Congress. It was this voice that spoke the name of Logan and declared his merits for the Presidency; from every State the cry was heard, and everywhere leagues organized to give aid in carrying the hero, soldier and lofty statesman to that high honor which nature specially fitted him to adorn. Illinois emphasized her preference by sending an almost solid Logan delegation to the Chicago Convention, headed by that other distinguished son, Shelby M. Cullom. So general was the demand for Logan in his grateful native State, that thousands of Democrats, particularly from Southern Illinois, joined in the cry, "Give us Logan," thus evidencing the popular appreciation felt for his noble services, by all classes in the State.

In the national delegate assembling of June 3, the friends of Logan modestly put him forward for the Presidency, the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, at present Logan's Senatorial colleague, being selected to present his name as the chosen son of Illinois. Cullom's nominating speech was forcible, eloquent and effective, the full text being as follows:

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: Twenty-four years ago the Second National Convention of the Republican party met in this city and nominated their first successful candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. [Cheers.] Abraham Lincoln led the Republican party to its first great victory. He stands

to-day in the estimation of the world as the grandest figure, the most majestic figure, of all modern times. [Applause.] Again, in 1868, another Republican Convention came together in this city, and nominated as its candidate for President of the United States another eminent citizen of Illinois—Gen. Ulysses S. Grant [loud cheers and waving of fans and other demonstrations of approval], and the Republican party was again victorious. Still again, in 1880, the Republican party turned its face toward this political Mecca, where two successes had been organized, and the murdered Garfield led the Republican party to victory. [Loud and continued applause.]

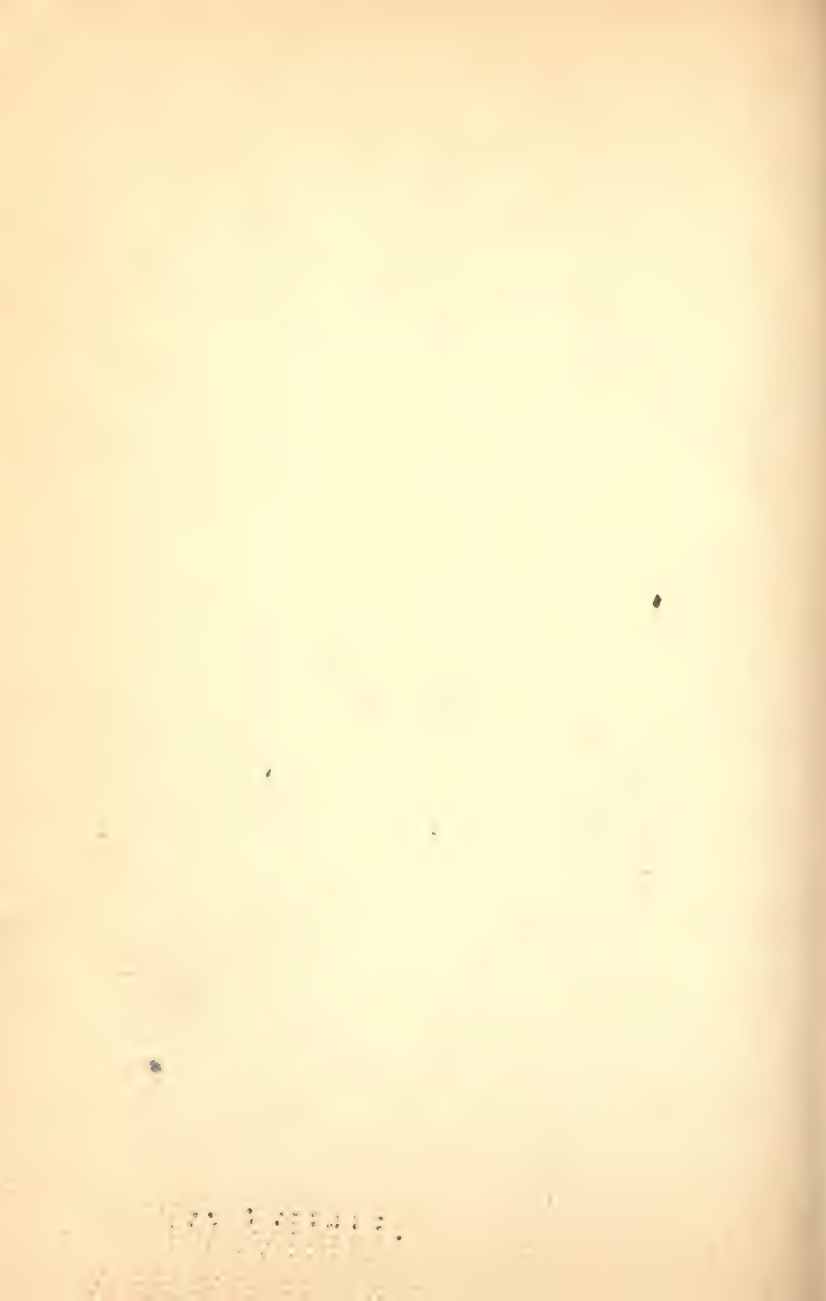
“Mr. President and fellow-citizens, it is good for us to be here. There are omens of victory in the air. History repeats itself. There are promises of triumph to the Republican party in holding its Convention in this great emporium of the Northwest. [Applause.] The commonwealth of Illinois, which has never wavered in its adherence to Republican principles since it gave to the nation and to the world the illustrious Lincoln, now presents to this Convention, for its consideration, as the standard-bearer of the Republican party, another son of Illinois, one whose name will be recognized from one end of this land to the other as an able statesman, a brilliant soldier, and an honest man, Gen. John A. Logan. [The announcement of Gen. Logan’s name was received with a wild burst of applause, a great many persons rising to their feet, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and the thousands of people in the galleries joining in the roar of applause. The cheers were renewed again and again.] A native of the State which he represents in the council of the nation, reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people. [Applause.] The safety, the permanency and the prosperity of the nation depend upon the courage and integrity and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starred flag was assailed by enemies in arms; when the integrity of the Union was imperilled by an organized treason; when the storm of war

threatened the very life of this nation, this gallant son of the Prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home and was among the first of our citizens to raise a regiment and to march to the front in defense of his country. [Applause]. Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war men must be either patriots or traitors, and he threw his mighty influence on the side of union, and Illinois made a record second to none in the history of the States in the struggle to preserve this government. [Applause]. His history is the record of the battle of Belmont, of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Vicksburg, of Lookout Mountain, of Atlanta and of the famous march to the Sea. [Great applause.] He never lost a battle. [Applause.] I repeat again, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens [applause]; when there was fighting to be done, he did not wait for others, nor did he fail to obey orders when they were received. His plume, the white plume of Henry of Navarre, was always to be seen at the point where the battle raged the hottest. [Applause.] During the long struggle of four years he commanded, under the authority of the government, first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally, an army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when, at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the Capitol of the nation, and with the brave men for whom he had bled on a hundred hard fought fields, was mustered out of the service under the very shadow of the Capitol building, which he had left four years before as a member of Congress to go and fight the battles of his country.

“When the war was over, and general peace victoriously returned, he was again honored by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the nation. In a service of twenty years in both houses of Congress, he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished a citizen than he was renowned as a soldier. Conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless, yes, I repeat again, fearless in the defense of the



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rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day, and I say it without disposition to take one laurel from the brow of these men whose names may be presented to this Convention, I say he stands to-day, in my judgment, closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now engaging public attention. [Applause.] No man has done more in defense of the principles which have given life and spirit and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan, of Illinois. [Applause.] In all that goes to make up a brilliant military and civil career, and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he whose name we have presented here to-night has shown himself to be the peer of the best. We ask you, therefore, to give him this nomination, because it would not be assailed, and it is not assailable. We ask you to nominate him because his public record is so clean that mere political calumny dare not attack it. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of gray veteran volunteer soldiers who are to-night over this broad land standing around the telegraph offices, waiting to know whether that gallant leader of the volunteer soldiers of this country is to receive the nomination at your hands. [Applause.] We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the white and the colored Republicans of the South, who are here by the hundred, black and white, appealing to this Convention as the representative of our grand old party to give protection and to vindicate them in their rights in the South. [Applause.] Now, my friends, standing in the midst of this vast assemblage of representative citizens of this grand republic, yea, in the sublime presence of the people themselves represented here to-night in all their majesty, we offer you the name of the tried hero and patriot, the sagacious and uncorruptible statesman, the man who, though defeated, never skulked in his tent. We offer you Gen. John A. Logan, and ask you to make him your nominee. [Applause.] If you do so, he will give you a glorious victory in November next, and when he shall have taken his position as President of this great republic, you may be sure you will have an admin-

istration in the interests of labor, in the interest of commerce and in the interest of finance, and in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people. [Applause.]

Prentiss, of Missouri, seconded the nomination of Logan, speaking of him as one who had served his country well in peace and in war, and who had stood by the Republican party in all its perils and had never forsaken it at any time. The people of Illinois, who loved the man, asked this Convention to recognize the services of the brightest star in the galaxy of Union leaders.

The call was then proceeded with, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, each being called, and each passing as called. Upon the call of "Maine," by the clerk, it seemed as if the entire assemblage arose, and a roar of applause, mingled with the cries of "Blaine," commenced, a scene such as can be witnessed only in a National Convention. Delegates from California, mounted on chairs, hoisted their white hats on canes and waved them about in response to the ocean of handkerchiefs waved by the ladies in the galleries and on the platform seats. One genius conceived the idea of opening his umbrella, and immediately fifty umbrellas were up and being waved about, presenting a novel sight. Meanwhile the immense crowd of admirers of Blaine were shouting in one immense, never-ending shout, something like the roar of a tempest, now swelling and sinking. The band itself came to the aid of the shouters, and thundered with its basses and drums, and, although five minutes had passed, the enthusiasm of the Blaineites knew no end, and the roar of their applause still continued. At last the President, who had been looking with interest upon the scene before him, seized his gavel and gave some raps

therewith. The crowd was silent a moment, and then, regardless of the Chairman's rapping, again burst out in another shout in honor of their candidate.

These eloquent appeals produced a profound impression, assisted by the already favorable disposition of the delegates and spectators towards Logan. But his friends, upon perceiving with what unexampled unanimity the voices of the several States spoke for Blaine, with admirable deference for the majority, Logan's name was not obtruded. When, therefore, the loud huzzahs for Blaine's nomination had died away, and the Convention was ready to hear nominations for the Vice-Presidency, the name of Logan was again proposed, and this time amid such thunders of approbation that there could be no mistaking its import; every State became at once his champion, shouting "give us Logan." It was a glorious tribute to the soldier-statesman, a national recognition of the debt which all America owes him. When the roll of States was called for nominations for Vice-President no response was made until Illinois was reached, when Senator Plumb of Kansas came forward. He said the Convention had completed two of its most serious duties—the adoption of a platform and the nomination of a candidate for President. The platform was one on which all good Republicans could unite, and the candidate was one who could beat any Democrat, living or dead. But it was still important that the best possible man should be named for the second place. It was but a matter of just recognition to the great body of soldiers of the war for the Union that a representative of their number should be placed as the second name on the ticket. The Grand Army of the Republic had enrolled more than three-quarters of a million men who lately wore the blue. In presenting a name from

their ranks, the speaker would mention a man fitted in every way for the first place; a man who would add strength to the ticket and justify the hopes and expectations of the party. That man was Gen. John A. Logan. [Loud, long and renewed applause.] The speaker did not present him on behalf of Illinois, or of any other State, but of the whole United States. He belonged no more to Illinois than to Kansas, where 75,000 soldiers would receive the news of his nomination with shouts of gladness. The speaker was commissioned by the State of Kansas to make this nomination. [Applause.]

Judge Houk, of Tennessee, in seconding the nomination, said that while the Convention had not chosen his first choice, it had done well, and the speaker proceeded to pay a tribute to the Plumed Knight of Maine. He hoped the Convention would come to a common understanding and agreement for the second place on the ticket. When the wires should transmit the news of the nomination of Gen. Logan to the soldier boys of East Tennessee there would be rejoicing among them, as there would be everywhere. On the Presidential nominee his delegation was somewhat divided, but when they came to name John A. Logan they were united twenty-four strong.

Mr. Thurston, of Nebraska, also seconded the nomination. He wanted the Republican party to write upon its banner the invincible legend, "Blaine and Logan." [Applause and cries of "Time, time."]

After a few other speeches Mr. Robinson, of Ohio, moved to suspend the rules and nominate Logan by acclamation. The motion was carried.

Congressman Davis, of Illinois, demanded that the roll be called on Logan's nomination, and it was called accord-

ingly. The idea of a roll call met the approval of the galleries, and each chairman, as he announced the vote of his delegation, was cheered as heartily as though an exciting contest was in progress.

Wisconsin voted nine for Logan and three for Lucius Fairchild, the latter being received with prolonged hissing. Massachusetts only cast twelve votes, and G. W. Curtis, on behalf of New York, asked time to make the count. The Wisconsin delegation withdrew their votes for Fairchild and gave twelve for Logan. New York being called a second time, Curtis responded with sixty for Logan, six for Gresham and one for Foraker. Total number of votes polled for Logan, 779.

The nomination was made unanimous this time amid great applause.

How the country regarded the nomination of Blaine and Logan was indicated by the rejoicings which followed in all parts of the Union, both North and South.

Gen. Logan received the news of his nomination with a *sang froid* that amounted, apparently, to indifference tempered with surprise, showing that he had not concentrated his ambition upon the Presidency, but being content to abide the wishes of his countrymen and to do his duty. A Washington paper of June 8th reported the effects of Logan's nomination upon himself and family as follows:

“ At 10 o'clock last night Gen. Logan sat in his library, an inner second-floor room, at No. 812 Twelfth street, conversing with a friend upon the events of the day's session of the Convention at Chicago. All the doors and windows were open to catch the evening breeze, and the lights were turned low, except at a desk in one corner, where the General's secretary sat writing. In the adjoining front room, Mrs. Logan was conversing with a party numbering eight or ten

ladies and two or three gentlemen. The picture was that of an informal evening gathering of near acquaintances, and if there was any expectancy of an impending event it was successfully concealed by all the actors in the pleasant scene.

“A card was brought in to the General by a colored waiter, followed on the instant by two or three perspiring gentlemen, who seized Gen. Logan’s hand and shook it heartily, offering him congratulations upon something which they were not given the opportunity to fully explain. There was a momentary sound of more excited conversation in the front room, as if something of an agreeable nature had become known to the companions of Mrs. Logan, and that lady entered the library bearing a torn envelope and its enclosure in her hand. ‘Come, papa, here is something,’ she said, as she grasped his hand to lead him toward the light. A shout of three or four hoarse voices made itself heard from the street. A charming lady, clad in pure white, passed Mrs. Logan, and seized both the General’s hands, beginning an impressive and evidently a very welcome greeting. More gentlemen entered. Louder shouts came up from the street. Somebody proposed three cheers for something, and the result drowned for a moment all voices in the room. A sound of drums approaching from a distance lent its help to swell the noise.

“The General’s face at the first salutation wore a look of something resembling surprise, but it gave place to blushes and broad smiles as he was seized by ladies and gentlemen and conducted to the front window in response to the din of demand from the crowded street below. ‘Speech! speech!’ shouted a crowd of a thousand white and colored men, in about equal portions, and again the General, now a prisoner in the hands of his agreeable captors, took up his march. Way was cleared with difficulty through the hall, down the stairs and out to the front door, where, standing upon the steps of the mansion, the General was cheered vociferously by his visitors.

“Silence was secured, and Gen. Logan, in a voice inaudible to more than half the crowd, said ‘Friends, I thank

you for your cordial meeting to-night. I am not prepared to make a speech. Again I thank you. Good night.'

“The General and Mrs. Logan were conducted back to the parlor of the mansion, and then, the doors being thrown open, the crowds pressed in. Forming in line, they decorously filed past, shaking the extended hands of both the General and his wife. In half an hour they were gone, and Gen. Logan had an opportunity to read the paper which Mrs. Logan had brought him as the scene began. It proved to be an Associated Press bulletin, announcing his nomination by acclamation for the Vice-Presidency.”

CHAPTER XVII.

On the 24th of June, the committee appointed to officially notify Blaine and Logan of their respective nominations, arrived in Washington, having gone direct from Augusta, where they had met Mr. Blaine, and at noon proceeded to the residence of Gen. Logan, where they were ushered into a large parlor. The General stood in the middle of the room with Mrs. Logan at his right hand, and was introduced to the members of the committee by the Chairman. When this ceremony was performed, the company arranged themselves in a circle around the room to hear the address. Chairman Henderson then read the formal notification of the nomination of Senator Logan as Vice-President.

Gen. Logan replied to the Chairman's address as follows:

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I receive your visit with pleasure, and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in the discharge of the duty with which you have been intrusted by the National Convention. Intending to address you a formal communication shortly, in accordance with the recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of my letter of acceptance. I may be permitted to say, however, that though I did not seek the nomination for Vice-President, I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy on all questions connected with the progress of our government and our people, I have dedicated my best energies, and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform and principles adopted by the Convention. I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred

on me by my friends in so unanimous a manner tendering me this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute. I am not unmindful of the great responsibility attaching to the office, and if elected, I shall enter upon the performance of its duties with a firm conviction that he who has such unanimous support of his party friends, as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicated, and consequently with such a wealth of counsel to draw upon, can not fail in the proper way to discharge the duties devolving upon him. I tender you my thanks, Mr. Chairman, for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow-committeemen my most hearty thanks."

When Gen. Logan had concluded, the Chairman stepped forward and shook him by the hand, as did other members of the committee, and mutual congratulations were exchanged. Mrs. Logan warmly thanked Gen. Henderson for the sentiments conveyed in his address.

On the evening of June 21st the soldiers and sailors resident in Washington, paid their tribute to Gen. Logan, as their choice for Vice-President, by tendering him a serenade.

They assembled at the City Hall and, forming in platoons of twelve, marched, headed by the Marine Band, to the General's residence on Twelfth street, where a crowd of 2,000 or 3,000 citizens had already assembled. The procession was liberally supplied with banners, rockets, Roman candles and noise-making devices. The banner of the Army of the Tennessee was displayed from an upper window of Gen. Logan's house. Gen. Logan's appearance was greeted with a storm of cheers. When the applause subsided he was introduced in a brief speech by Gen. Green B. Raum.

Gen. Logan then addressed the assemblage as follows:

"Comrades and fellow-citizens: The warm expressions of confidence and congratulations which you offer me, through

your Chairman, impress me with a deep sense of gratitude. I beg to tender my sincerest thanks to one and all my participating friends for this demonstration of kindness and esteem. Your visit at this time, gentlemen, is interesting to me in a double aspect. As citizens of our common country, tendering a tribute to me as a public man, I meet you with genuine pleasure and grateful acknowledgment. Coming, however, as you do, in the character of representatives of the soldiers and sailors of our country, your visit possesses a feature insensibly leading to a train of most interesting reflections. [Applause.] Your assemblage is composed of men who gave up the pursuits of peace, relinquished comforts of home, severed the ties of friendship, and yielded the gentle and loving society of father, mother, sister, brother, and in many instances wife and little ones, to brave the dangers of the tented field or crested wave, to run the gauntlet of sickness in climates different from your own, and possibly, or even probably, to yield up life itself in the service of your country.

“Twenty-three years ago, gentlemen, when dread war raised its wrinkled front throughout the land, many of you were standing with one foot upon the portal of manhood, eager for the conflict with the world, which promised to bring you honors, riches and friends, and a life of peace and ease in the society of your own families. But few of you had passed the period of young manhood or advanced to the opening score of middle life. At the call, however, of your endangered country, you did not hesitate to leave everything for which we strive in this world, to become defenders of the Union, without the incentive which has inspired men of other nations to adopt a military career as a permanent occupation and as an outlet to ambition and an ascent to power. [Cheers.]

“The safety of our country having been assured and its territorial integrity preserved, you sheathed the sword, unfixed the bayonet, layed away the musket, housed the cannon, doffed your uniforms, donned the garments of civil life, buried the hatred toward our brothers of the South

and shook hands in testimony of a mutual resolve to rehabilitate waste places and cultivate the arts of peace until our reunited country should be greeted prouder and grander than ever before. [Great cheers.] Those years have glided into the retroacting perspective of the past since you responded to your country's call, and mighty changes in the eventful march of nations have taken place. This passing time has laid its gentle lines upon the heads of many of you who shouldered your muskets before your first beard was grown. But however lightly or however heavily it has dealt with you, your soldiers' and sailors' organizations that have been kept up prove that the heart has been untouched and that your love of country has but been intensified with advancing years. [Cheers.] Your arms have been as strong and your voices as clear in the promotion of peace, as when lent to the science of war, and the interest which you take in national affairs proves that you are patriotically determined to maintain what you fought for, and that which our lost comrades gave up their lives to secure for the benefit of those who survived them. [Applause long continued.]

"During the last twenty years, in which we have been blessed with peace, the Republican party has been continued in the administration of the government. When the great question of preserving or giving up the union of States was presented to us, it was the Republican party which affirmed its perpetuation. I open no wounds, nor do I resurreet any bad memories in stating this as an undeniable fact. When you and I, my friends, and that vast body of men, who, having declared in favor of preserving the Union, were compelled to resort to the last dread measure, the arbitrament of war, we did so under the call of the Republican party. Many of us had been educated by our fathers in the Democratic school of politics, and many of us were acting with that party at the time the issue of war was presented to us. For years the Democratic party had wielded the destinies of our government and had served its purpose under the narrower views of an ideal republic, which then existed. But the matrix of time has developed a new child

of progress, which saw the light of day under the name of the Republican party. Its birth announced the conception of a higher, broader principle of human government than had been entertained by our forefathers. But few of us, perhaps none, took in the full dimensions of the coming fact at that early day. It broke upon us gradually, like the morning sun as he rises in the misty dawn above the mountain top. At length it came in full blaze, and for the first time in the history of our republic we began to give genuine vitality to the declaration of 1776 that 'All men are created equal,' and entitled to the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. [Cheers.] The Republican party was the unquestionable agency which bore these rights to a waiting age, and it was the Democratic idea which disputed their value—first, upon the field of battle; and subsequently, and up to this moment, at the polling places of the country.

"The Republican party, then, represents the latest fruition of governmental progress, and is destined to survive upon the theory that the strong outlive the weak, until the development of principles still more advanced shall compel it to measure its step with the march of the age or go to the wall as an instrument which has fulfilled its destiny. So long as the Democratic party shall cling, either in an open or covert manner, to the traditions belonging to an expired era of our development, just so long will the Republican party be charged with the administration of our government.

"In making this arraignment of the Democracy, my friends, I appeal to no passions, nor re-open settled questions. I but utter the calm, sober words of truth. I say that until every State in this broad and beneficent Union shall give free recognition to the civil and political rights of the humblest of its citizens, whatever his color; until protection to American citizens follows the flag at home and abroad; until the admirable monetary system established by the Republican party shall be placed beyond the danger of subversion; until American labor and industry shall be protected by

wise and equitable laws, so as to give full scope to our immense resources and place every man upon the plane to which he is entitled by reason of his capacity and worth [cheers]; until education shall be as general as our civilization; until we shall have established a wise American policy, that will not only preserve peace with other nations, but will cause every American citizen to honor his government at home, and every civilized nation to respect our flag [renewed cheering]; until American people shall permanently establish a thoroughly economic system upon an American ideal, which will preserve and foster their own interests, uninfluenced by English theories or 'Cobden Club,' and until it is conceded beyond subsequent revocation that this government exists upon the basis of a self-sustaining, self-preserving nation, and the fatal doctrine of 'independent State sovereignty,' upon which the civil war was founded, shall be stamped as a political heresy, out of which continued revolution is born, and wholly incompatible with that idea of a republic.

"The Republican party will have much work to do, and an unfulfilled mission to perform. [At this point the speaker was interrupted some time by cheers and applause.] The standard-bearer of the party in the ensuing campaign is Hon. James G. Blaine [great cheering], known throughout the land as one of its truest and ablest representatives. He has been called to this position by the voice of the people, in recognition of his especial fitness for the trust, and in admiration of the surprising combination of brilliancy, courage, faithfulness, persistency and research that has made him one of the most remarkable figures which have appeared upon the forum of state craft in any period of this country; that such a man should have enemies and detractors is as natural as that our best fruits should be infested with parasites, or that there should exist small and envious minds which seek to belittle that which they can never hope to imitate or equal, but that he shall triumph over these and lead Republican hearts to another victory in November is as certain as the succession of seasons or the

rolling of the spheres in their courses. Gentlemen, again thank you for this visit of congratulation, and extend to you, one and all, my grateful acknowledgment. [Cheers.]

Speech-making continued to a late hour. Among the speakers, who were all ex-soldiers, were Senators Plumb and Harrison, Gen. Cutcheon, of Michigan, Gen. Nathan Goff of West Virginia, Hon. A. H. Pettibone, of Tennessee, and Gen. T. M. Bayne, of Pennsylvania. This graceful tribute to Gen. Logan was the voice of not only the soldier and sailor residents of Washington, but it was representative of all the veterans of the nation, whose hearts well up whenever Logan's name is spoken; who listen again to the bugle note sounding the charge, and see again Logan's magnificent figure leading a sweeping column through battle-smoke and deafening musketry; through deadly fire, up to flaming parapets, planting a shattered emblem on the blazing walls

CHAPTER XVIII.

Since writing the last chapter, news has been received that President Arthur, after a careful examination of the bill which passed Congress in June, for the relief of Fitz John Porter, has returned it with his veto. The importance of this act is so great, particularly affecting the character of Gen. Logan, that an omission of the President's veto message from this work would seriously mar its completeness. The manner in which Gen. Logan resisted this bill, using his powerful arguments in a five days' speech on its injustice, was used as a pretext by his enemies for charging him with bigotry and jealousy. This same charge will no doubt be circulated in the campaign, but it is happily anticipated by the action of President Arthur, who did not pass upon the merits of the relief bill until he had thoroughly exhausted every question which was raised in support of or opposition to it. At the request of the President, Attorney-General Brewster submitted, July 2d, a long and carefully prepared opinion on the constitutionality of the bill, the import of which is expressed in the following excerpt:

“Whatever powers Congress has upon the subject of appointments in the army must be derived from some one or more of the following clauses of the Constitution:

“‘The Congress shall have power to declare war,’ etc.

“‘To raise and support armies,’ etc.

“‘To make rules for the government and regulation of land and naval forces.’

“‘To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers,’ etc.
[Section 8, Article 1.]

“But another clause of the Constitution declares that the President ‘Shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Embassadors * * * and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law,’ etc. [Section 2, Article 1.]

“This is power expressly given to the President by the same instrument which gives Congress the power above mentioned, namely, to make rules for the government and regulation of the land forces, etc. From the foregoing powers conferred upon Congress the power to designate by law a person to fill a military office can not be implied, since this would be in direct conflict with the power of appointment expressly given to the President, as above. Regarding the bill as imposing, or attempting to impose, upon the President a duty to appoint the person designated therein it is without any support in the Constitution. It is an assumption of implied power, which is not based upon any express powers, and clearly involves the constitutional right of the President. Congress has no right to enact as a law that which will be ineffectual. It cannot enact, advise or counsel. It must make laws that are rules of action, not expressions of will, that may or may not be followed. Counsel is a matter of persuasion, law is a matter of injunction; counsel acts upon the willing, law upon the unwilling also. (Blackstone’s Commentaries, 44.) If, then, the bill be an injunction commanding the President to appoint it is an usurpation, and if it only be counsel, it is without essential element of law, and Congress can enact nothing but that which is to have the full vigor and effect of the law. But again, the bill is subject to objection upon the ground that Congress thereby in effect creates an office only upon condition that it is to be filled by the particular individual named. If this principle were adopted generally in the creation of offices, it would obviously result in constraining the appointing power to accept the conditions imposed, and fill offices with individuals designated by Congress, thus frustrating the design of the Constitution, which

is that officers must be alone selected according to the judgment and will of the person and body in whom the power of nomination, advice and consent and appointment are vested."

The President took the same view of the bill as Attorney-General Brewster, and on the same day returned it to Congress with a lengthy expression of his reasons for vetoing it; among other objections named, the President concluded his message as follows:

"There are other causes that deter me from giving this bill the sanction of my approval. The judgment of the court-martial by which more than twenty years ago Gen. Fitz John Porter was tried, was convicted, was pronounced by a tribunal composed of nine general officers of distinguished character and ability. Its investigation of the charges of which it found the accused guilty was thorough and conscientious, and its findings and sentence in due course of law were approved by Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States. Its legal competency, its jurisdiction of the accused and of the subjects of accusation, the substantial regularity of all its proceedings, are matters which have never been brought in question. Its judgment, therefore, is final and conclusive in its character. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently declared that such court-martial, such as this was, is the organism provided by law and clothed with the duty of administering justice in this class of cases. Its judgments, when approved, rest on the same basis and are surrounded by the same considerations which attach to the judgments of other tribunals, as well the lowest as the highest. It follows, accordingly, that when the lawfully constituted court-martial has duly declared its findings and its sentence, and the same has been duly approved, neither the President nor Congress has any power to set them aside. The existence of such power is not openly asserted, nor, perhaps, is it necessarily implied, in the provisions of the bill which is before me, but when its enacting clauses are read in the light of the recitals of its preamble, it will be seen that it seeks in effect the political

annulment of the findings and sentence of a competent court-martial. A conclusion at variance with these findings has been reached after investigation by a board consisting of officers of the army. This board was not created in the purpose of any statutory authority, and was powerless to compel the attendance of a witness or to pronounce a judgment which could be lawfully enforced.

“The officers who composed it, in their report to the Secretary of War, dated March 19, 1879, state that in their opinion justice requires such action as may be necessary to annul and set aside the findings and sentence of the court-martial in the case of Maj.-Gen. Fitz John Porter, and to restore him to the position which their sentence deprived him, such restoration to take effect from the date of his dismissal from the service. The provisions of the bill now under consideration are avowedly based on the assumption that the findings of the court-martial have been discovered to be erroneous. But it will be borne in mind that the investigation which is claimed to have resulted in the discovery was made many years after the event to which these findings relate, and under circumstances that made it impossible to reproduce the evidence upon which they were based. It seems to me that the proposed legislation would establish a dangerous precedent, calculated to impair in no small measure the binding force and effect of judgments of various tribunals established under our Constitution and laws. I have already, in the exercise of the pardoning power with which the President is vested, remitted the continuing penalty that made it impossible for Fitz John Porter to hold an office of trust or profit under the government of the United States. But I am unwilling to give my sanction to any legislation which shall practically annul and set naught the solemn and deliberate conclusions of the tribunal by which he was convicted, and of the President by whom its findings were examined and approved.

“(Signed)

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

“Executive Mansion, July 2, 1884.”

Gen. Logan has already given satisfactory reasons for the opposition which he offered to the bill; he did not oppose it merely to gratify personal spleen, because he harbored no enmity towards Fitz John Porter; he did not oppose it either with the purpose of obtruding himself more prominently upon the public, for he was well aware that Porter had many friends, some of whom were Republicans, while all the Democrats in Congress were favorable to the bill, and consequently his opposition would only invite their active enmity, which it has done. Thus was his position a most unenviable one; but, so far as his action promised hostility or loss of popularity, Logan did not give the matter a thought; he has been in so many throes of political and deadly conflict that no affray can deter his progress; and being convinced in his own mind that the court-martial which convicted Fitz John Porter, made their findings according to evidence and fact, he considered that a reversal of the verdict so formed would be an act of rank injustice to both the living and the dead, and he therefore conscientiously opposed the bill giving Porter relief. The President's veto has shown the correctness of Gen. Logan's position and added another victory to his long list of triumphs.

CHAPTER XIX.

The domestic life of Gen. Logan, like that of Mr. Blaine is a very happy one; a continual spring-time of confidence and devotion. Gen. Logan was married in 1855, to Miss Mary Cunningham, of Shawneetown, Illinois, under somewhat romantic circumstances. Among the comrades of Logan, who went with him to the Mexican war, was Mr. Cunningham, who had moved from Kentucky and settled at Marion, only a short time before war was declared with Mexico. It chanced that Logan and Cunningham, in the assignment of the Illinois volunteers, were mustered into the same company, and in this comradeship they served until peace was declared. Logan returned home and entered upon the study of law, as already related, while Cunningham joined his family at Marion, but did not remain there more than two years. Finding no inviting opportunity to engage in business at Marion, he removed from there to Shawneetown.

Upon Logan's election to the position of Prosecuting Attorney, he visited Shawneetown in the performance of his official duties in 1854, and while there met Mr. Cunningham, for the first time in three years. The meeting was, of course, a happy one, and Logan was invited to spend an evening with his old comrade, which he gladly accepted. Up to this time Logan had never met any of the members of Mr. Cunningham's family, and he was therefore profoundly, but agreeably, surprised upon entering his friend's house, to meet, among others of the family, a daughter just turning twenty years, and of surpassing beauty. This was

Mary Cunningham, the brightest girl and acknowledged belle of Shawneetown, notwithstanding the fact that her father was quite poor. It is not because of her present position, but because the fact may yet be amply attested by old citizens of Shawneetown, that I here declare Mary Cunningham to have been one of the handsomest girls in Illinois, and with her beauty she had also a marvellous intelligence, winning and graceful manners, and all the natural qualifications to make her a charming girl and a noble woman. Her advantages for obtaining an education were limited to the indifferent opportunities of Southern Illinois, which have already been described, but she had natural abilities far above those which may be acquired in the seminaries of learning.

It is not strange that the beautiful face and delightful manners of Mary Cunningham should excite a tender passion in the bosom of so sensitive and mobile a young lawyer as Logan was then. In fact, it may be briefly stated that Logan had most unexpectedly found what he at once conceived to be his affinity, and started upon another highway of life more rose-bowered and flower-carpeted than any he had yet trod.

No more surprising is it that the readily impressionable and beautiful Mary should be attracted by the handsome, chivalrous lawyer, whoser eputation as an attorney, and promise of future advancement, was on every one's tongue in Southern Illinois. So it may with truth be said that the two conceived a strong attachment for each other, which was not long ripening into a love which found consummation in the marriage that followed less than one year after their first meeting. Directly after this happy event, Logan removed with his beautiful bride to Benton, Illinois, where

he resided for some time, and then changed his residence to Carbondale, where he continued to live until his removal to Chicago in 1871.

In all his struggles and triumphs Gen. Logan has found a true help-meet, a devoted assistant, in his wife. At the breaking out of hostilities, in 1861, Mrs. Logan's kinsmen, as well as those of her husband's, were all strong Southern sympathizers, Mr. Cunningham, her father, being especially outspoken in his sentiments against Lincoln and the threatened coercion of his administration. In this condition of Southern Illinois feeling, which threatened for a time a secession of that section, a gentleman, who was an old acquaintance of Logan's, asked Mrs. Logan what she thought would be her husband's attitude in the approaching struggle. Her answer was quick and decided: "What will be his attitude? Why, sir, he will sustain Mr. Lincoln, and will uphold the Union. Has he not already declared what course he will take?"

The gentleman was very much attached to the Southern cause, and as he had long known Logan to be an uncompromising Democrat, with all his relatives still holding allegiance to that party, he doubted Mrs. Logan's declarations.

Said he: "Here is a span of horses and a carriage which is worth six hundred dollars; I will wager the outfit against that sum of money, if you can find some one to take the bet, that John A. Logan stands by his old party and will give his influence towards the South in the pending trouble."

Mrs. Logan responded to this banter by saying, "You need not look further, I will take the bet," and going into the house she soon returned with six hundred dollars, which were taken to the bank, and there the wager was completed in proper form. Less than one month afterward, John A. Logan



MRS. JOHN A LOGAN.

(From a photograph taken and engraved expressly for this work.)

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had enlisted as a private under Col. Richardson, in a Michigan regiment, and started to the front.

Upon receiving the news of Logan's enlistment, duly authenticated, the gentleman turned over his horses and carriage to Mrs. Logan, and in the fall he was converted to the Union cause by one of Logan's stirring speeches, delivered in his town, Carbondale.

This incident serves the double purpose of illustrating the influences which Logan was forced to combat in taking issue against Democracy, and also the faith and confidence which Mrs. Logan had in her husband's loyalty.

Mrs. Logan has always proved herself equal to every occasion in which her valuable services might be of aid to her husband. While he was in the field leading victorious charges, Mrs. Logan was at home cheering him with daily letters, and defending him against the calumny of enemies. When he was brought to her at Murphysboro with a desperate wound, which threatened his life, she responded with promptness as nurse; watched day by day at his bedside, and so ministered as only a loving wife can, until the hectic flush disappeared and returning strength gradually told the glad news of his recovery. With all her great wealth of love she could have given him to her country; with all her devotion she could have knelt upon and watered with her tears a green mound marking his last repose, sustained in the hour of most grievous affliction by the cause in which he fell. Hers was a patriotism like that which wrought our independence one hundred years ago, a glorious example of woman's heroism, which is the refreshing shower that brightens and nourishes the plant of universal liberty.

When Gen. Logan was called to a high position in our civil government, Mrs. Logan became at once, by reason of

her refinement and intellectual abilities, the cynosure of admiring eyes, a charm in the social circle to which she has been elevated. Being a lady schooled in all the departments of society, she could adapt herself readily to any which changed conditions might demand; therefore, from the smart polish of Southern Illinois, she could, at a moment, grace the most elegant circles of fashionable refinement in Washington.

There is no woman in public life who possesses more admirable traits than Mrs. Logan, and, what is very unusual, her popularity with members of her own sex is quite as great as with the others, clearly evidencing her personal magnetism and brilliant social accomplishments.

Gen. Logan's family is the fruition of a happy marriage and delightful domestic life; he has but two children, one of whom is the young wife of Paymaster Tucker, stationed at Santa Fe, N. M., and the other, a son, Manning, who is now, at the age of seventeen, a cadet at West Point Military school. Mrs. Tucker is universally regarded as having been one of the sweetest dispositioned girls that was ever in Washington society; she exhibits many of the attractive characteristics of Mrs. Logan, being very interesting in conversation, and having such winsome manners that she is a favorite with all who have the pleasure of her acquaintance.

Manning Logan gives promise of an honored career. He is almost a counterpart of his father in appearance and disposition, though inclining toward a military life rather than the legal profession. He is always far to the front in all his classes, is exemplary in conduct, and punctillious in matters involving his personal dignity and honor.

CHAPTER XX.

There is no doubt but that Gen. Logan is ambitious; ambitious for honors, but more ambitious for the good opinions of his countrymen. There is one characteristic specially conspicuous in Logan, among the several others which distinguish him, more noticeable, perhaps, because of its rarity; this is his sterling honesty. If there was ever an honest man on this earth, John A. Logan should certainly be so considered. Diogenes would have halted before him and blown out his light, having found the object of his search. This language would be regarded as florid exaggeration, and would be inexcusable, except that I use it qualifiedly, to express my earnest convictions of Gen. Logan's true character. To say that he is honest would be without force, for the reason that thousands of men are said to be honest who, though they pass for such, are not so in a strict interpretation of the word. Therefore I use a more earnest expression to designate Logan as a man, in all the walks of life, sincerely, scrupulously honest in both conviction and every act. A man is not deserving of special credit because he is honest, as this is a virtue which everyone is supposed to possess, but in the practical affairs of life, and particularly in political matters, honesty seems to exist almost exclusively in the abstract. Abuses in office are almost of daily report; high positions are prostituted to greed; corporations obtain extraordinary privileges through the influence of money, while many who have resisted the power of pelf have fallen from high estate through the potentiality of female lobbyists.

Gen. Logan has been in the National Legislature for twenty years; he was there during that period when corruption grew strong, because so few had the hardihood to condemn it; he went into office with limited means and had every opportunity thrust upon him whereby fortune might be made with small fear of exposure. But the strong principles of honor, duty and love of country which make up his character, rejected every dishonest proposal and corruptionists found in him a foe they could not approach without feeling the steel of exposure. Pure and devoted in domestic life, he has been no less conscientious and correct in his duties as a legislator. No trust ever reposed in him has been betrayed, and no man can with truth say that Gen. Logan ever proved recreant to his professions or obligations. Though ambitious, he has sought advancement through an exhibition of meritorious service, through loyalty to his constituents, through championship of just measures and a bitter condemnation of wrong; thus has his political life silenced the tongue of slander and won the admiration of mankind.

After twenty years of active service given to his country, a service marked by great ability and truthfulness; a period in which, had he exercised his endowments in the practice of the law, his chosen profession, he could have reaped a fortune, yet to-day he is a poor man, rich only in the consolation that he has discharged all his duties well. His worldly possessions consist of a dwelling house on Calumet avenue, Chicago, valued at \$25,000, which the grateful citizens of that place gave him to attest their appreciation for his services to the State and country, and also as an inducement for him to make his residence among them. He also owns a small farm near Marion, Illinois, and a half

interest in a four hundred and fifty acre farm adjoining Murphysboro.

When in Washington, where he spends a greater portion of his time, Gen. Logan and his wife live at a modest boarding house on Twelfth street, where they occupy only two rooms in which the Senator does all his work. In these days of lavish display and expenditure, when nearly all legislative officers of the government affect royal pretensions, spending princely sums in grand entertainments and personal adornments, the example of Gen. Logan is positively refreshing, and commends him to the people as an intellectual giant, whose abilities contain no social chaff, and whose merits stand solely upon his public worth as a statesman and an honest, generous man.

In the olden time, when patriotism was an active principle in the administration of all official duties, the qualities which Gen. Logan now exhibits would have been a passport to high preferments, but to-day they seem to be less regarded, because people vote for party rather than for individuals, much to the detriment of every branch of the public service. I can say to the masses, however, in truth and candor, that Gen. Logan represents the purity and best interests of our country, and with his great coadjutor, James A. Blaine, the Republican ticket this year concentrates the noblest purpose that has been declared since the days of Jackson. It represents the best interests of labor, of commerce, of national stability, of freedom, and of all the attendant blessings of a perfect Republican form of government. More than this, it represents strength in American character, and opposition to imported social idiosyncracies; it represents a rejection, aye, a condemnation of the customs, which have unfortunately obtained, and which tend to

supplant real republicanism by royal affectation; it means sturdiness and independence, an attachment to our country and disdain for monarchies. That such a policy is needed no one can dispute, for the signs all point to an emasculation of American character under the social *regime* which is now so conspicuous in Washington. A President cannot make laws to regulate society, but he can be so representative of the old spirit which achieved our independence, and so exemplary in an observance of the sturdy customs of fifty years ago, that the most affected of our society will find an imitation of English aristocracy—glass eye, lap dogs and donkeyisms—unpopular. Both Blaine and Logan have shown such a disposition as will warrant the prophecy that, should they be chosen, which they certainly will be, to guide our constitutional ship, they will revivify the spirit of '76 and bring us to a realization of our pre-eminence over all other nations.

CHAPTER XXI.

The promise of Republican success in the campaign of 1884, makes the prospective policy of Blaine and Logan a subject of vital importance, and as each has foreshadowed his inclinations, if not determinations, in speeches upon national and inter-national questions, involving the comity of governments, and American subjects under arrest in foreign countries, we may conclude from their past actions the course which they will most likely pursue. Mr. Blaine's vigorous policy during the short period of his service as Secretary of State, gave ample proof of his intention to advance our material interest by establishing a relation with South American States that would give us a commercial supremacy in those countries, which we, as a manufacturing nation ought, by right, succeed to and maintain. Had this policy of Mr. Blaine's, which was outlined in his call for a Peace Congress, succeeded, the results would no doubt have been a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the United States and Southern Republics, which would have given us a monopoly of the trade with those countries. More than this, it would have given the Monroe Doctrine a practical test; it would have set the wheels of our manufacturing industries in quicker motion than they have ever been; it would have given labor, at largely increased prices, to every mechanic, and spread prosperity throughout the land.

That an enforcement of Blaine's South American policy would have brought forth fruit to tickle the taste of plenty,

cannot for a moment be doubted, after a full consideration of all the facts. I will not present figures, but the assertion goes without question, that all South America is strictly an agricultural and stock-raising country, manufacturing a few articles that they are hardly noticeable even among the rural classes. This vast region, thickly populated, and with no inconsiderable pretense to advance civilization, draws nearly all its supplies of clothing and manufactured articles from England, Spain, France and Holland, by far the greater portion being imported from England. The reason we export so little to South America, is because no effort has ever been made by us to establish relations with that section of America, while our merchant service has been allowed to almost disappear. What was needed to give us a monopolistic footing in all the South American States and the Brazilian Empire, was a policy such as Mr. Blaine proposed, and nothing else, for we can manufacture all classes of goods, such as are needed in South America just as cheap and good as England, while our advantage is great in the time of transportation, by sea route, while the great trans-continental rail line is now projected, which, when built, as soon it must be, will bind this country with Mexico, Central and South America, thus giving us competing routes ensuring both quick and cheap transportation.

The object of Mr. Blaine's proposed Peace Congress was soon discovered by England; she saw that a consummation of his designs would utterly destroy her trade with the Southern republics, and would probably so stimulate American commerce on the high seas that her merchant navy would be seriously crippled by the competition. And there is no doubt but that this would have been the result.

It has been England's policy to take every thing she could

get and to hold whatever she may acquire, utterly regardless of the just claims of others; she makes every act expedient that promises any advantage, and protects her commerce with a care which it were well for our nation to imitate. In pursuance of her oft-demonstrated policy of acquisition and maintainance, as soon as England perceived the object of Mr. Blaine's call for a Peace Congress with the South American governments, she raised an objection. Why did she object? Because she could not consent to the adoption of any treaties of the character proposed, between the United States and South America, unless she was allowed to be represented in the conference. This was impliedly the objection raised by the Gladstone government. About this time, and before Mr. Blaine could answer the objections, there was a change in the Cabinet, by which a successor to Mr. Blaine was introduced to the State Department. Immediately succeeding this change, the negotiations for a Peace Congress abruptly terminated, and the fine prospects which promised so much for the Blaine policy, were dissipated like a mirage by changing atmosphere.

I do not exaggerate the facts in saying that this acquiescence in England's dictation; this abandonment of one of the grandest conceptions that has ever emanated from an American statesman, destroyed the greatest opportunity our country ever had for a marvellous stimulation of our paralyzed industries; defeated the most magnificent idea for our enrichment, and sacrificed the wisest system for increasing the price of wage-labor, that was ever planned in the history of our country.

Well, we are at peace with all nations; peace is an article of great value, and all nations should, consistently, try to preserve it; yet peace at any price sometimes exceeds its

worth. We might have had peace in 1776 by submitting to the dictation of England, but we refused it at the price asked. We might have had peace in 1812, if we had been willing to sacrifice to England, the Dictator, but the article was again considered too expensive; we might have had peace in 1861, if freedom-loving loyalists had acquiesced in the demands of a Southern Confederacy, incited and overtly assisted by England, but it was not a pearl of such great price that the Union could afford to give its honor for. No! we want peace, but we want other things as well. We want justice first, and to obtain this priceless boon, the true American will sacrifice peace, if necessary. The policy of loyal sovereigns of this wise Confederation should be the maintainance of our rights, and if any nation attempts to interfere with our privileges, is it not our duty to show the sword and shield, to meet arrogance with firmness and to give a thrust if necessary?

Mr. Blaine's character furnishes hope, belief, that as our President he would guard with jealousy all our rights, protect every American, and push every advantage that is calculated to help our national prosperity and increase our greatness.

That Gen. Logan is a firm believer in the wise and dignified policy of Mr. Blaine may be accepted, for no man was ever prouder of his nativity, no man ever loved Republican institutions better, and none more punctillious in matters of honor, than he. Gen. Logan is a patriot as ready to meet a foreign foe as he was to defend his country against internecine enemies. He is a believer in the Monroe Doctrine, a champion of the principles which led our feeble Colonies to hurl defiance and hatred at a hated king; a man loving a government by and for the people, an enemy to royalty,

and a defender of freedom. These avowals make him a supporter of Mr. Blaine's home policy. But his voice has sounded these principles more emphatically. In his speech to the soldiers and sailors at Washington he said: "The Republican party will not complete its mission until protection to American citizens follows the flag, at home and abroad; until American labor and industry shall be protected by wise and equitable laws, so as to give full scope to our immense resources and place every man upon the plane to which he is entitled by reason of his capacity and worth; until we shall have established a wise American policy, that will not only preserve peace with other nations, but will cause every American citizen to honor his government at home, and every civilized nation to respect our flag; until American people shall permanently establish a thoroughly economic system upon an American ideal, which will preserve and foster their own interests, uninfluenced by English theories or the 'Cobden Club.'"

These are no uncertain words, but are the incitement of Mr. Blaine's forcible doctrines, showing that Logan is in full accord with the great statesman who will soon be in a position to more practically enforce his just and wise policy.

CHAPTER XXII.

In politics all men must be controlled, to an extent, by influences more or less objectionable; some there are who succeed through promises of appointment, others by more culpable bargains, while only the few secure election through merit alone. General Logan may rightfully be included among the latter, for, aside from personal influence, he was never even accused of procuring votes by any unfair or dishonorable means. To the charge that he has favored many of his relatives by securing their appointment to office, I can answer that there is no foundation whatever for such a report. Mr. Tucker, Logan's son-in-law, is a paymaster in the army, but he held this position before his marriage, and is in no respect indebted to Logan for the appointment. James Logan is postmaster at Murphysboro, Illinois, receiving a salary of thirteen hundred dollars per year, but Gen. Logan neither suggested nor influenced the appointment, the place being procured through another public official in Washington. The only position that Gen. Logan ever placed at the disposal of one of his relatives was a small and poorly paid office in Utah, which he secured to Mr. Cunningham, his father-in-law, who died a short time after entering upon his duties.

I have tried to ascertain, through several sources, if there are any other relatives of Gen. Logan holding office except the two named, but have been unable to learn that there are, nor do I believe there are any. I do know of several relatives in Southern Illinois, both of himself and Mrs. Logan, who, although poor, have never held an office,

though perfectly competent to do so. The charge, therefore, of nepotism, made against him by reckless calumniators, is like all the other charges, a base fabrication. If Logan had provided positions for his worthy relatives, certainly such a fact would not be to his discredit—for no Logan was ever known to betray a trust—yet it is the custom for political enemies to assail such appointments.

Gen. Logan has not been favorable to Civil Service Reform, because he is honest enough to express himself, regardless of public opinion. That our so-called Civil Service Reform is a humbug no one can deny who is familiar with its practical workings; it is worse than a fraud, for it is proving a positive evil, besides being another leech on the public treasury. Upon hearing a report of Logan's opposition to Civil Service Reform, without investigating the truth of the charge, I went to Washington and there familiarized myself with its practical working. I found there five Commissioners who receive annually \$5,000 each, and their travelling expenses, for examining applicants for the public service. Among these Commissioners I found one who had been actually egged and driven out of an Illinois college, where he had been regent, and who, after long pursuit for office, had finally landed in this soft position, and at the head of the Commission, too, I believe. The duties of this quinary delegation is to examine, catechetically, all applicants for government position, in the several academic branches, and whether the examination is satisfactory or not the candidates are entered upon a book, and their chances are neither increased nor diminished by their experience with the commission. Whenever a candidate passes the average required he is told to return home and whenever a vacancy occurs he will be communicated with.

Now, what practical benefit is derived from this system? No one ever secured an appointment merely upon the record made at these examinations, while clerks in all the departments are continually being appointed and discharged through the influence of Congressmen, exactly as they were before the Commission was created. If any one desires a position in the government service, let him not apply to the Commission for examination, but to some influential politician, otherwise he will have nothing but trouble for his pains.

It is for the reasons named that Gen. Logan is opposed to the Civil Service Reform Commission. Logan has always opposed all frauds upon the government, and people everywhere will applaud him for it. The \$80,000 which it costs the government annually to support this imposition could be used with vastly greater benefit in enlarging the usefulness of the Smithsonian Institute, which stands so nobly and, unfortunately, so near the Civil Service Commission building.

Gen. Logan has little concern for the offices that are to be filled in Washington, feeling assured that the service will never be seriously crippled by incompetents, but I believe in the report that he is concerned about the stigma which disfigures, by unwarranted pretences, a system that must combine efficiency with economy; a system that ought to embody no useless or extravagant absurdity, such as the Civil Service Commission manifestly is.

There are some singular coincidences in the lives of James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, which must attract no inconsiderable attention. In 1860 it will be remembered that the Republican Convention met in Chicago and nominated their first successful candidates, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. In the Convention of

1884 the Republicans took their candidates from the same States as in 1860, only reversing their positions; this is a strange coincidence, from the fact that no other candidates than Hamlin and Blaine have ever been put forward for the Presidency from Maine, nor do I believe that any other candidates from that State were ever proposed, or even talked of, in connection with the Presidency.

But the most singular coincidence in the lives of Blaine and Logan is found in the fact that they were each born in a country village, among rugged hills, on a small river, and in a town named Brownsville, Blaine being born in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, while Logan's birth-place was Brownsville, Illinois. In addition to these coinciding facts they have both been in public life nearly the same time, and filling identical positions, with the exception of a Cabinet place and Speakership which Mr. Blaine has filled, and Gen. Logan has not. They are, however, about equally matched as orators, and have both been greatly assisted in their political ambitions by their excellent wives. But there is still another point of similarity between them, viz: neither has ever had his name associated with any woman in social intrigue or scandal at Washington, while both are uncommonly happy in their domestic relations, devoted not only to their wives but even companionable with their children, thus evidencing the great purity and perfect happiness of their lives.

Gen Logan is the first man the Republicans have nominated for a Vice-Presidency with a wife to share the honors. Dayton, nominated in 1856; Hamlin, in 1860; Johnson, in 1864; Colfax, in 1868; Wilson, in 1872; Wheeler, in 1876, and Arthur, in 1880, were all widowers. The election, therefore, of Gen. Logan will have no small effect on the

social features of official life in Washington, as his wife will take a position which must create a marked change, but she will prove an honored social representative of the nation and a useful associate of Mrs. Blaine.

The country may well rejoice at the selection made by its Republican delegates, at the candidacy of Blaine and Logan, for they have been tested in the crucible of statesmanship and found to be pure; they have been tried in the hour of greatest national danger and found to be patriots; they have been proved able, fearless, honest, in questions of public expediency, and their leadership has elevated the standard of our greatness as a nation. With pride and hope can we say to Blaine and Logan: Hail! Chiefs! you have been faithful in much, we will now make you rulers over many.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In the thirty years of his active political life, holding high offices and exciting opposition from the fiercest enemies, Gen. Logan has never been charged with any corrupt act. The severest thing said of him was that he was too strictly partisan; this was as far as the tongue of slander ever tried to blacken his character, until within the past few months a silly and most senseless accusation was made, to the effect that he had acquired 80,000 acres of land in New Mexico, which by a bold or cunning manœuvre he had sequestered from the Zuni Indians; that in addition to these lands he had a ranche in that territory on which were grazing 30,000 head of his own cattle. This story, without the slightest basis of fact, was conceived with a view of influencing public opinion, to make the people believe that he is a very rich man, and had used his official position whereby to corruptly possess and hold an immense portion of the Zuni Reservation.

Now, what are the facts upon which these charges rest? Simply these: Gen. Logan's son-in-law, Major Tucker, and two others, each entered a claim, under the Desert Land Act, of one hundred and sixty acres, five miles from the nearest line of the Zuni Reservation. Any citizen could do the same thing, but since Logan's son-in-law located a quarter-section, why, malignant enemies, that they might not be wholly without a cry, raised up their voices and credited Logan with *locating* 80,000 acres of land and stocking it with 30,000 head of cattle. Although Logan does not own so much as one acre of land outside of Illinois, and

not a single head of stock, this fact did not avail against his political enemies; they must have some charge, and they have found it easier and handier for their purpose to manufacture a charge than to find a real one, particularly since it is not necessary to substantiate a campaign report.

These charges, however, were so persistently and provokingly repeated that on the 5th of July Gen. Logan replied to them in the Senate as follows:

“Mr. President: I deem it my duty to my friends that I call attention to certain statements I find copied in the public press, as well as in the *Congressional Record* of the 27th of June.

1. “I am set down in the list of what is termed land grabbers, as having in some mysterious way accumulated the vast amount of 80,000 acres of land. This statement is utterly without foundation in fact. The New York *Herald* of the 29th adds 30,000 head of cattle. I wish this were true, but there is no foundation for the statement. I would take no notice of this, however, were it not for the charge that follows. 2. The person who made the statement, after finding it was untrue, instead of doing justice to me, against whom he might by his erroneous statements have done an injury, proceeded to put another false statement on record, as follows: ‘I might have said to the deluded soldiers of this land: What do you think of a great Senator, who in his greed to absorb the territory which belongs to the actual settler, the land that was made for the independent freeholders and small farmers? What do you think of a man who poses as a statesman and a patriot, as a friend par excellence of the soldier, and who, under cover of his brother-in-law went to New Mexico and tried to pre-empt the most valuable land lying along her streams, and was only stopped by

a public officer finding out that it belonged to the class which he professes the utmost friendship for (and who from his manner and appearance rumor says has their blood in his veins), tried to steal from his own kith and kin hundreds of acres of lands [great laughter and applause on the Democratic side], taking from the unfortunate sage, who was unable to protect himself, until an honest Secretary of the Interior went there with a surveyor and took back the land for the Zunis?" [Renewed laughter and applause.]

"Now, Mr. President, this statement is, so far as I am concerned, or any one else of whom I have any knowledge, maliciously false. Sir, what are the facts out of which this attack has been made? Capt. Lawton, Maj. Tucker and Mr. Stout located claims at Neutria Springs and lands adjacent in New Mexico, not, however, until after ascertaining from the General Land Office that the land was subject to location, being outside of the Indian reservation, some five miles from the Indian line and some twenty-five miles from the town of Zuni. So it will be seen the 80,000 acres of land this man says that I was stealing from the Indians, resolves itself into three homesteads, or desert act claims, located by two army officers and one citizen on public lands open to such entry; with such location, however, I had nothing to do."

In order to prove the statements he had made, Gen. Logan read a number of letters. The first was a letter from the Commissioner General of the Land Office, showing that the land in question was subject to location and entry as public land at the time, and if not the location would have been subject to cancellation. The next letter was from Maj. Tucker to Secretary Teller, giving the facts in connection with the location of the land mentioned by him and his associates,

and protesting against any change by re-survey of the Zuni reservation. He says: 'The charges against Logan in connection with these lands are untrue.' The next letter, from Capt. Lawton to Gen. Logan refutes at great length the charges against the latter, and says: 'There is not, nor has there been, any company or organization for the purpose of buying or owning land, raising stock, or starting a ranch on the Nutria in which you, or any other person, is or was interested. My entry of land on the Nutria was made in good faith for myself, and no other person has any interest in my locations. Any and all statements that there is or has been a combination either to secure the land or to start a ranch for your benefit, or for the benefit of any person other than those appearing on the record in the Land Office is untrue.

James Stevenson, of the United States Geological Survey, bears the following testimony in a letter to Senator Logan: "Having had my attention called to statements in the *Congressional Record* of recent date, indirectly charging you with fraudulently attempting to deprive the Zuni Indians of New Mexico of their lands, I beg to say that I am familiar with the facts and circumstances from thorough investigation of the subject, made at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, and take pleasure in stating that the allegations thus made are grossly unjust to you, as well as to Maj. Tucker and his associates, and wholly without foundation."

The last letter of the series is from Secretary Teller to Gen. Logan. In it he says: "There is not the slightest evidence that any wrong was intended or done by parties to the entries, or any law violated. The land was public land at the time these entries were made, and as such was open

to entry by the public. The gentlemen who made the entries were qualified to enter such lands, and had a perfect right to do so, and they neither violated the law nor the rights of any parties whatever in so doing. I asked the executor to order the extending of the reservation without understanding all the facts at the time. It gives me pleasure to make this statement, in view of allegations to the contrary which have been made."

"When Maj. Tucker and his associates were attacked through the newspapers," said Gen. Logan, "and charged with interfering with the rights of the Indians, and doing a great wrong, I defended them in a letter through the public press, and otherwise, as having violated no law, and as having committed no fraud on the Indians or anyone else. In that defense I asked the question if a soldier like Capt. Lawton could not locate a homestead (or pre-emption or whatever the location was) within the distance he had to the Indian reservation, to tell me how many miles a soldier would have to go away from a reservation in order to comply with the law. This I did in their behalf. I now stand by what I then did. If this be a crime or a fraud, my enemies can make the most of it. These men are all honorable men. Capt. Lawton was a gallant soldier from Indiana, served all through the war with great credit to himself and honor to his country. Maj. Tucker is my son-in-law. He is a gentleman, and a man who would not wrong anyone. I presume the wrong in me is that Maj. Tucker is a part of my own family; and, although he is innocent of any wrong in the premises, a baseless excuse was made to assail me through him. If their object was to draw me into his defense, they have succeeded; and when anyone thinks I have not manhood enough to defend openly

my relative or friend when wrongfully assailed, he mistakes me. This, sir, is my full answer to this false, unprovoked and malicious slander, which I place on record, where all may have access to it if desired."

A more complete answer was never made to any charges, and the frankness with which he treats the report is an exposition of his slanderers, their infamous ways and conscienceless statements, their desperate resorts to stain a character that is as pure as that of any man who ever occupied a position in public life; a man against whom the shafts of malice, jealousy, falsehood, envy or hatred cannot prevail, because his is the armor of honesty and honor. Fair-minded persons, of whatever party predilection, who read this statement of Gen. Logan's, cannot avoid the conclusion that it were better to change politics than to affiliate with men who perpetrate such malicious falsehoods, and by so doing betray a conscienceless dishonesty which reflects discredit upon the entire party.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The administration of James A. Garfield was begun under many happy auspices, chief among which were public confidence and the absence of any issue that was calculated to arouse animosities either within or without the party. Mr. Garfield's letter of acceptance contributed very much to this accord of popular sentiment by allaying all doubts and establishing a firm conviction that his administration would prove a wise and just one. The declarations and generous impulses of this letter were so manifestly prophetic of the inauguration of a sagacious statesmanship, applicable to the exigencies of any occasion which might arise during his term of office, that it obtained for him a support which circumstances indicated would have been otherwise withheld. As Mr. Garfield's acceptance was written with the view of restoring the waning prestige of Republicanism, and the carrying out of his avowals was largely entrusted to Mr. Blaine, I herewith append the full text of that important letter, together with such comments as I believe its import justifies :

MENTOR, OHIO, July 10, 1880.

DEAR SIR:—On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies and with a deep sense of

the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy, which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample powers of self-preservation; that its constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government; that the national laws relating to the election of Representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

THE ROAD TO PEACE.

The best thoughts and energies of our people should be

directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore to perfect peace those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will outlast passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The national government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all.

EVILS WHICH AFFLICT THE SOUTH.

The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

THE EDUCATIONAL QUESTION.

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be

permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the church and state in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

THE FINANCES.

On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time the government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense.

RESUMPTION.

The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin but has brought into use

our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

THE TARIFF.

In reference to our custom laws a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the Treasury and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly, in our own markets, with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world, and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi

river, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of twenty-five millions of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufacturers and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great watercourses.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an emigration, either in its purpose or its results. It is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restrictions, too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present administration, supported by Congress, has

sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade, and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The Convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive departments in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that with our frequent changes of administration no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the civil service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the government should require him to discharge

all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election. They are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment these principles should control the legislation and administration of the government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way. If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people and the favor of God.

With great respect, I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

TO HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, Chairman of Committee.

While the fell hand of assassination prevented President Garfield from carrying out all the promises contained in his letter, he inaugurated such a policy as plainly indicated his purpose to make good the utterances it contained.

Mr. Hayes' administration had proved unsatisfactory; his acts bore the stamp of indecision and indicated a lack of courage; while his veto of the refunding bill was so injudicious and harmful to public interests that it seriously jeopard-

dized the honor of his party. Mr. Garfield, however, to a very great extent, at least, overcame the prejudice thus excited, by his epistolary declarations, and went into office with few grave difficulties to meet. But being a schooled as well as natural statesman, he knew that only a strong and constant hand could steer the ship of state safely on a sea rendered always treacherous by political opposition and the placemen who, like pirates, buffet about, always watching for prizes to capture or wrecks to fall upon. He was therefore a man with a policy, well conceived and confidently adhered to. This strong trait in his character was not long in manifesting itself, but to make his aims more certain he called to his aid James G. Blaine, whose wisdom and firmness peculiarly fitted him for vigorous service.

When Mr. Blaine accepted the Portfolio of State he was in complete accord with the policy, hopes, and intentions of President Garfield, and if he had any ambitions thereafter they were undoubtedly approved of by the President; this made Mr. Blaine a part of the administration. But there was more than a mere accord of policy between them; the two had been friends for twenty years, serving together in the halls of legislation, members of the same party in all that time, and together they shared a social intimacy and admiration seldom seen in official life. When, therefore, Mr. Blaine represented any State policy under President Garfield that policy was the idea of them both, so declared and consistently followed. No other Secretary of State was ever so near the President as Mr. Blaine was to Garfield, and for these several reasons we are justified in saying that Mr. Blaine was a faithful representative of the administration.

When a fight was made over Mr. Robertson's appointment to the Customs Collectorship of New York, Blaine and Garfield stood together like Corsican brothers, and remained steadfast through all the fierce wrangle which resulted finally in Garfield's death. By the very facts leading to his assassination, Mr. Garfield showed how nearly his administration was divided with Blaine, divided in its responsibilities and ambitions and, as near as possible, bequeathed just before death to his trusted Secretary.

Mr. Garfield not only sustained Blaine in his South American policy and in the proposed arbitrament between Chili and Peru, but in the proposed Peace Congress also; he also sustained him in his interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and in his basis for treaties with Mexico. In fact, Mr. Garfield applauded all the suggestions of Mr. Blaine, so that after the assassination of the President Mr. Blaine remained as an exponent of Garfield's administration, and in this light he must ever be regarded. When, therefore, Mr. Blaine was superceded by President Arthur's appointment, and the vigorous policy which he represented was displaced by pacificatory measures taken to annul Mr. Blaine's action, it operated merely as an abeyance until the sense of public opinion could be taken.

When Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, by the act of an assassin, he adopted a policy opposite to the line of duty as drawn by Lincoln. His action was not sustained by public opinion for two reasons; one was, because it was inexpedient; and the other,—which was far more forcible—because, having been elected with Lincoln upon the same declaration of principles, he should have carried out the policy inaugurated by Mr. Lincoln. The same cogent reasoning applies to the action taken by President Arthur

in opposing the principles and policies of President Garfield, for the circumstances are identical.

Mr. Blaine continued in a consistent course as his duty required, and this firm adherence, as well as the justice and wisdom of his policy, entitles him to the Presidential succession. I do not pretend that Mr. Blaine's chief merits for election depend upon the fact of his being a representative of the Garfield administration, but call attention to it because it furnishes at least one strong reason why he should be chosen.

The spirited manner in which Gen. Logan assailed President Johnson for subverting the effects and intents of Lincoln's policy also entitles him to the suffrage of all fair-minded men, particularly since to that meritorious act he has added many others, described in previous chapters of this work.

CHAPTER XXV.

The nominations of Blaine and Logan were accomplished under circumstances so rare and so praiseworthy that the reader's attention may properly be called to them in this connection, in comparison with the Republican nominations that have been made since the war.

Abraham Lincoln was chosen in 1860 by the Republicans because of his acknowledged great powers and sterling integrity. He was a magnetic man, and better represented the principles of his party than any other person; besides, it was generally conceded that Douglas would be the Democratic choice, and there was, in consequence, a desire to see the campaign of 1858 fought out again between these two intellectual giants, on a broader field.

Lincoln's second nomination followed as a consequence of his unexampled administration, because he proved himself to be the grandest man that this country has given birth to. The exigencies of the hour, too, demanded him, for no other was capable to take his place at such a time.

Gen. Grant became the Republican party's nominee because of his soldier prestige; all nations are quick to honor their successful field officers, and America is even more prone to elevate its soldiers than any other country. Gen. Grant was wholly untried in statesmanship and his election to the Presidency was therefore an experiment, but his administration was successful and this, together with the more influential facts appertaining to re-construction and other unsettled issues growing out of the war, caused him to be

nominated for a second term. He was defeated in his aspirations for a third term because his great influence as a soldier had, by the obliterating influence of time, become less conspicuous, while his second administration was not so brilliant as to retain the popular admiration once felt for him.

Rutherford B. Hays was nominated in 1876, not because he was the choice of his party, but because the factions adhering to Blaine, Morton and Bristow were so devoted to their respective candidates that a compromise had to be made and Hays was selected. Lightning struck him out of a clear sky.

Gen. Garfield was chosen in 1880 as a compromise between the Blaine and Grant factions; Garfield had never, perhaps, dreamed of filling the President's chair at Washington, but the accident of his nomination secured a wise ruler and gave us the greatest Secretary of State that ever filled the office.

The nomination of James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, was accomplished under circumstances so totally different from any that entered into the success of other nominees, that they represent, more than any other Republican nomination that was ever made, the will and desire of the people. By the operation of a custom which has obtained in later years it is a comparatively easy matter for the occupant of the White House to secure a second nomination; I don't say this in any disparagement of the President, for he is hardly responsible, as the government employes everywhere contribute to this result. It is but natural that each person holding position in the Government service should seek to retain his place, and since there are nearly 100,000 office holders their influence is an immense factor in the delegate elections. Hence, I say that the advantage held by the

President is so considerable that, even aside from general satisfaction with his administration, it is usual to secure a second nomination. But Mr. Blaine was put forward upon his merits, without aid from the usual political sources; he represented no clique nor faction, was out of office and pursuing a taxing literary engagement, had made no efforts to secure a nomination, gave no one a promise for influence, neither solicited nor courted any man's vote, made no political journeys through the country, and in short, made no effort whatsoever to thrust himself forward for the prize.

In contrast with the indifference exhibited by Mr. Blaine, there was great activity and drilling of forces by several avowed candidates, while President Arthur was boldly in the field seeking a nomination, not by personal appeal, but through the official hosts distributed in every State and Territory.

The Convention of 1884 was not only the largest assembling of delegates that ever took place, but it was composed of the most intellectual elements, including among the number many of the great leaders of public opinion, distinguished editors, authors, and statesmen. They came together with a settled purpose, with a determination to nominate a man who was great enough to draw the Presidency to him, a man great in the hearts of the people. There were scores of delegates in the Convention clamoring for their preferences, there were those who sought to cry down Blaine, and others who said, "Anything to beat Blaine," and so a fierce fight went on, the people shouting and declaring they would have none but Blaine, while the professional politicians vehemently denounced him. During the fray, this scramble between the people and politicians, Mr. Blaine was at his home, way off at Augusta,

Maine, undisturbed, enjoying the society of his wife and children, swinging under the shade trees which adorn his ample lawn, or meeting the acquaintances of his youth and neighbors, making no reference to the contest at Chicago, and careless of the result which might be reached there. He never even so much as sent a telegram of advice or suggestion to his friends there, and in every respect manifested an unexampled indifference, feeling that since he had not sought the office, it remained entirely with the people whether or not he should be the choice of the Convention.

But the people wanted "Jim Blaine;" they wanted the man who had proclaimed the right of America to control her own affairs without English dictation; they wanted the man who conceived a means for diverting the immense trade of South America from Europe to this country; they wanted the man who is every inch an American, and who, if President, would not hesitate to go to war if it were necessary for the protection of an American subject; they wanted the man of brains, energy, courage and brilliant record; they wanted the man who has made enemies by his fearless advocacy of just measures, a man who can hurl defiance at his foes, or wither them by his honest gaze,—and so they called for "Jim Blaine," called with a voice that proved their earnestness, and with manfulness they carried his name successfully through the Convention. So strong was he that no combination could have defeated him, strong in the hearts and confidence of the people, strong in his convictions and strong at the polls. His triumph at Chicago was equivalent to public declaration that his policies had been sanctioned by the people, and that by every right he should be successor yet to Garfield, and carry out the purposes announced in the assassinated President's letter

of acceptance. Such a popular uprising for any man was never before witnessed in this nation, such unanimity of sentiment, such boldness of determination. It was a glorious example of the office seeking the man which we have never had before in this country, and it was a sign that the people have at last come to the front to put down dishonest pretense and exalt merit. It was also a condemnation of the outrageous and culpable action of the enemies of fairness, who, in the Convention at Cincinnati in 1876, to prevent Mr. Blaine's nomination, forced an adjournment, by cutting off the supply of gas. It required an uprising of the people to suppress the infamous schemes and schemers who sought, by every disreputable means, to prevent a nomination of the most popular man in the nation. The triumph, therefore, of Mr. Blaine, under the circumstances, was one of the most complete and wonderful in the history of American politics, and is, I believe, without precedent.

The influences which operated to nominate Blaine were conspicuously noticeable in the nomination of Logan. It was an apparent fact that public sentiment—the people—were attracted to Gen. Logan almost as strongly as they were to Mr. Blaine; in one they recognized abilities for leadership and statesmanship unsurpassed by any example in national legislation; a peer to Calhoun, Henry Clay, Webster, Benton, or any other luminary that has shed renown upon the Senate. In the other they recognized a wise representative in whose life the bright star of patriotism shines with fadeless lustre, and in whose acts there is seen an example of faithfulness to public trusts which draws admiration not only from partisans, but from all honest men. These two great exponents of Republicanism were, therefore, almost equally esteemed by the people, and yet their

respective adherents exhibited no other feelings than of the most friendly character to each other, so that the nomination of Mr. Blaine to the Presidency was necessarily followed by Gen. Logan's nomination to the Vice-Presidency. This combination, therefore, represents more truly, perhaps, than any other that was ever similarly formed, the wishes and true interests of the people, being a direct creation at their hands in opposition to the most strenuous and unfair endeavors of politicians.

There was an element, however, which favored Gen. Logan that was not so conspicuous in the support of Mr. Blaine, which was the soldier vote, a very important factor of strength in the Republican party; so considerable indeed that it is essential to the success of any party. Upon the principle that the world honors a brave man, we may confidently conclude that Gen. Logan's strength lies not wholly in the affections of his own soldiery, or members of the Grand Army of the Republic, but his popularity is well established among thousands of those whom he fought. In battle every other sentiment gives place to valor, but when the clouds of war disperse, honor succeeds, and with honor and peace appear magnanimity, for it is only the brave soldier that can appear generous. When Logan laid aside his sword he took up the olive branch and placed it across the bloody breach dividing the North and South; he was not without respect for the heroes who contested against him in famous fights; he was generous enough, while condemning their cause, to believe in their sincerity, and this magnanimous spirit his chivalric foes applaud as well as give honest admiration for the heroism which he displayed. This is the evidence upon which I base the declaration that thousands of brave men in the South will flock to his standard now.

Blaine and Logan! What nobler sons does Columbia acknowledge; what worthier representatives can the people find; in whom is the hope of America's greatness more conspicuous? The tocsin has sounded, who will doubtfully stand, who will hesitate in their duty? The colors of freedom and union wave gracefully, proudly over Blaine and Logan; wherever those colors float there is the rallying place for lovers of their country. In the halls of Congress Blaine has been a plumed knight in forensic contest against sympathizers with disunion; a stalwart patriot, a noble man, when able and loyal men were needed to stand as pillars of adamant to sustain the constitutional superstructure. In the fore-front of battle for the Union, Logan rode, nor sheathed his sword until the sisterhood of States had been re-established, until liberty had flung her undisputed ensign over North and South and peace garlanded the nation with laurel and yew. Blaine and Logan, favorite sons of a restored nation, belong to their country, and the great popular heart throbs with gratitude at a mention of their names.

LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE.

MR. BLAINE'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the committee, etc., etc.:

GENTLEMEN—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as effected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of a principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within

that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence against a theory which we have to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained, and I will maintain, the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seems to constitute demonstration.

In the census of 1850 an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (including slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and savings of all the people in the area of the United States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of 250 years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). The great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased 60 per cent, the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent—showing a vastly enhanced wealth per capita among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,-

000,000) had been added during the twenty years to the permanent wealth of the nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of \$125,000,000 per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges, have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our national character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recog-

dition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the nation.

OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interest against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange.

Our carrying trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased indeed at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America, elsewhere referred to, had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct concep-

tion of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have had since 1860. Our chief emporium, the City of New York, with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the civil war in 1860.

AGRICULTURE AND THE TARIFF.

The Agricultural interest is by far the largest in the nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to per-

suade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that during the past twenty-four years wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between \$800,000,000 and 900,000,000 each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to \$2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to \$3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of \$850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of \$1,500,000,000. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers are the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly ex-

panded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

OUR INTERNAL COMMERCE.

Such facts as these touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest, also, that in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by 56,000,000 of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According

to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

EFFECT UPON THE MECHANIC AND THE LABORER.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world, would deprive them of the power to do

this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital—guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy, (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interests of the republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administrations, has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufacturers and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any power on earth, and

we may rest in assured confidence that no power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and should in my judgment be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance in an official dispatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquest of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and as persistently as we might have done. For more than a genera-

tion the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western hemisphere amounted to \$350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than \$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums to Europe in coin, or its equivalent, to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field

promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of *American*, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquillity and industrial progress. If there be occasional and

violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period it can be said to the honor of the American name, that un-

faithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the Government from all control of appointments and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons, which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the District, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the

term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil-service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to Secretaries of Legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

THE MORMON QUESTION.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly in-

trenched in one of the Territories of the Union and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

OUR CURRENCY.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in con-

nection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The strength of the republic is increased by the multiplication of landholders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among 1,000 men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the national domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers and to those who are citizens of the republic, or willing to become so.

OUR SHIPPING INTERESTS.

Among our national interests one languishes—the foreign carrying-trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freighting larger than that

of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

SACREDNESS OF THE BALLOT.

This survey of our condition as a nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot—upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power. I am, with great respect,

Your Obedient Servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

GENERAL LOGAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the committee, etc., etc.:

DEAR SIR—Having received from you on the 24th of June the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and a deep sense of its responsibilities; and, if elected, shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of the party, in a manner so flattering, will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the Convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform, and to discuss them briefly.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The resolutions of the platform declaring for a levy on such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the labore

to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just award, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity," meets my hearty approval.

If there be a nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communion to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which cannot be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber-lands, and water ways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic systems and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations.

In all successful government it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of the just balance between them, one or the other suffers, and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our own national life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute free trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our national credit, the financial and business un-

certainities and general lack of prosperity under that system, can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican party sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have, nevertheless, been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican party during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concession to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff, by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear.

The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade-competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and in the great expense of the necessities of life, are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing, and health-producing food with which wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable.

Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profit, or he must make the American laborer suffer in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case of a substantial reduction of pay, there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States,

and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering in duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self improvement, and his value as a citizen, charged with a portion of the obligations of government, would be lessened; the moral tone of the laboring class would suffer, and in turn the interests of capital, and the well-being of orderly citizens in general would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people. The National Convention, in view of the special dangers manacing the wool interests of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a prosperous basis should be extended.

No one realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy

and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every home industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest point our great agricultural interests, and at the same time give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in competition with our own, thus not only building up our foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

OUR MONETARY SYSTEM.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which it is safe to say has never before been equaled by that of any other nation.

Under the operation of our system of finance the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly-increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standards, and as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore, under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose

a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States or in the bills of the national banks.

The advantage of having a bank note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before should be appreciated by all.

The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

INTER-STATE, FOREIGN COMMERCE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-state and foreign commerce and to the matter of our foreign relations are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to inter-state commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of our country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said, "time is money," and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries, and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life, imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken through peaceful, orderly,

and conservative methods to open markets which have been and are now monopolized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends the people of the Brazilian empire.

The republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations, and mutual hopes. The "Great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration and as the model for them to build upon, and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us, at least, as a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachments, which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstanding between ourselves and any of the members of the American Republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or congress, whereby an

agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached.

An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would ensue, reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels, and inure to the greater prosperity of all American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

FOREIGN POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The United States has grown to be a government representing more than fifty million people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such, its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our government should construct enormous fleets of approved ironclads and maintain a commensurate body of seamen in order to place ourselves on a war footing with the military and naval powers of Europe. Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging

to our government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American Republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if ever they should be, by the different systems of government upon another continent.

An appeal to the right by such a government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the treaty of Washington we led the world to the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The central idea of a republican form of government is the rule of the whole people as opposed to the other forms which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty, and thus laid the basis of our present republic. While technically a government of the people, it was in strictness only a government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion, held in a condition of absolute, despotic, and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern Christian nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people, and 4,000,000 human creatures emerged from the condition of bondsmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed

by their former masters. The subsequent legislation which guaranteed by every legal title the citizenship and full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is, that while, theoretically, we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats. In face of this incontestible truth these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and, with the white Republicans, are numerically in excess of the Democrats, yet precisely the same political result obtains—the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a “blind” or as a stroke of finesse.

Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practiced in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic party

of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in national elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately, and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people—in a double sense.

First. It is in violation, open, direct and flagrant, of the primary principle upon which our government is supposed to rest, viz.: that the control of the government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government, that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second. It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein are particularly centered the great wealth and industries of the nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the national taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength.

Under this system minorities actually attempt to direct the course of national affairs, and though up to this time success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interests of an overwhelming majority of our people, North and South, to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element was really in the majority, they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority; but neither statistics of population,

nor the unavoidable logic of the situation, can be overridden, or escaped. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have had but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people. In the meantime it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of national elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning national legislation, and especially to the end that, in presidential contests, the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority. In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst,

and on a compliance with our laws to a co-operation in our government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to encourage the oppressed of other nations and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens on the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our national family or to embrace any higher civilization than their own. To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be simply protective against this danger, and if not sufficiently so now should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The subject of civil service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that toward its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter with the view of weakening it in the public confidence a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto "To the victors belong the spoils" became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence and public morality, the Republican party has sedulously endeavored

to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the Executive; of how to give encouragement to and provoke emulation in the various government employes, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes may gradually lose all proficiency and value in the belief that they possess a life-calling, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject; but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing. Under Republican rule the result has been that, without engrafting any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient and purer in all of its features than ever before since the establishment of our government; and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the most efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

THE REMAINING TWIN RELIC OF BARBARISM.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy.

The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space permit. I limit myself to saying that, while there should be the most rigid economy of governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperiled by adverse legislation. The law establishing a Labor Bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other. We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own. The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for

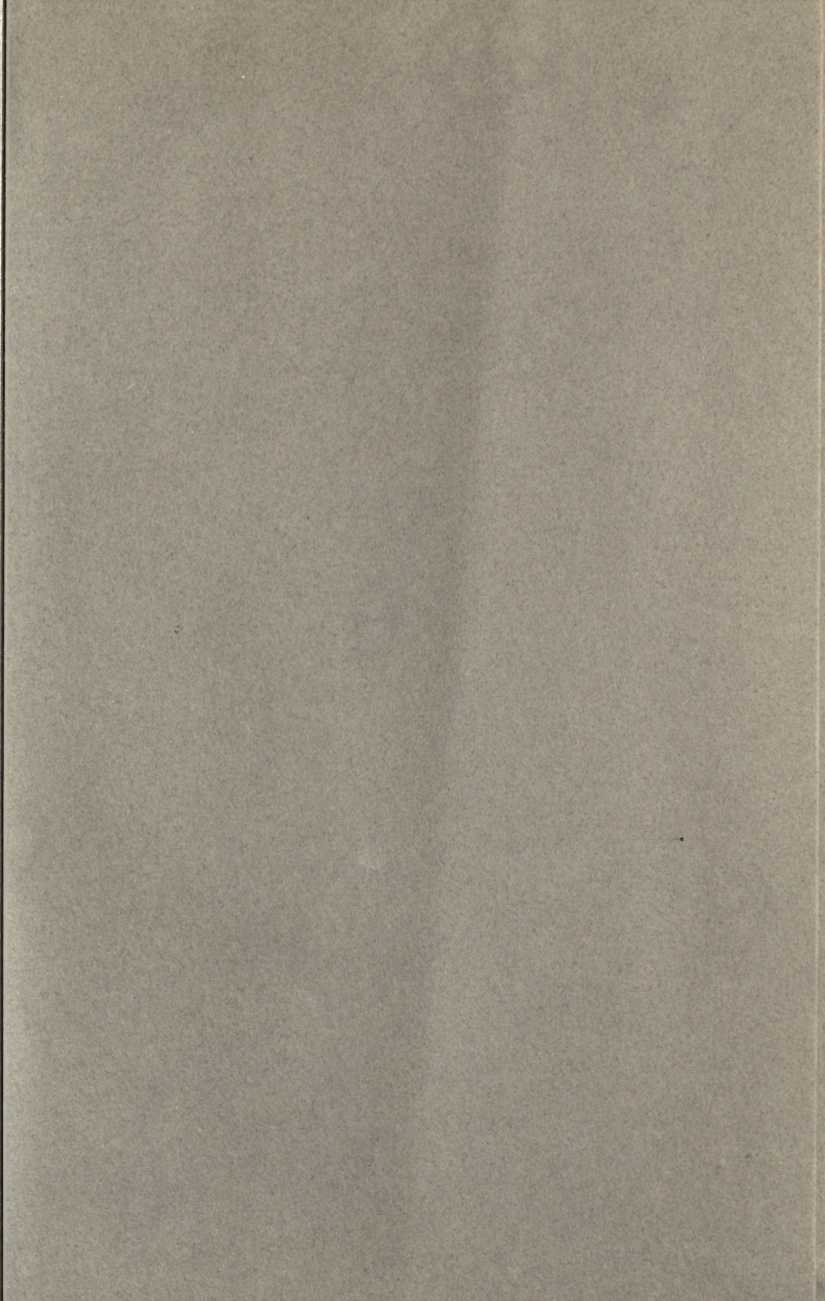
all desiring to possess them, and finally our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.





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